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**BUILD THE PKI
ALONG THE
MARXIST-LENINIST LINE
TO LEAD THE
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
REVOLUTION IN
INDONESIA**

*Five Important Documents of the
Political Bureau of the CC PKI*

[1971]

**PUBLISHED BY THE
DELEGATION OF THE CC PKI**



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ALONG THE
/REVIST-LEINIST LINE
TO LEAD THE
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
REVOLUTION IN
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Five important Documents of the
Political Bureau of the CC PRT

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QUOTATION FROM
CHAIRMAN
MAO TSETUNG

The seizure of power by armed
force, the settlement of the issue
by war, is the central task and
the highest form of revolution.

NOTES ON THE

VIETNAM

REVOLUTION

the main task of the revolution is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the central task and the highest form of revolution.

**People of Indonesia unite, and
with the gun in hand march
courageously onward to over-
throw and destroy the Suharto-
Nasution fascist dictatorship.**

*The Programme of the
Communist Party of
Indonesia for People's
Democracy in Indonesia*

People in Indonesia, and
with the gun in hand march
courageously onward to over-
throw and destroy the Suban-
tara feudal hierarchy.

The development of the
Communist Party of
Indonesia for People's
Democracy in Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

In September 1971, five years after
the publication of the Self-Criticism of
the Political Bureau of the Central
Committee of the PKI (Communist
Party of Indonesia), which is entitled:
*Build the PKI Along the Marxist-
Leninist Line to Lead the People's Dem-
ocratic Revolution in Indonesia*, the
Delegation of the Central Committee of
the PKI publishes a collection of Five
Important Documents of the Political
Bureau of the CC PKI.

This collection of documents contains
the materials reflecting the develop-
ment in establishing the line of Marx-
ism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in
the PKI, after the PKI and the Indone-
sian revolutionary movement, following
the affair of the "September 30th Move-

ment", suffered very heavy blows as a result of the most vicious white terror unleashed by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which carried out the orders of its master, U.S. imperialism.

The two documents published before the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, namely, the Message of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI on May 23, 1966 and the Statement of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI on August 17, 1966, show that the PKI began to realize its serious mistakes in leading the Indonesian revolution. The Message of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI on May 23, 1966, which is entitled: *Hold Aloft the Reputation and Honour of the Communist!* stresses the necessity of carrying out criticism and self-criticism by mobilizing criticisms from below, from Party members and all revolutionary groups in Indonesia, so as to analyse and sum up the experience and the mistakes of the Party. The Statement of the Political Bureau

of the CC PKI on August 17, 1966, which is entitled: *Take the Road of Revolution to Realize the Tasks Which Should Have Been Accomplished by the August Revolution of 1945*, contains criticism and self-criticism about the mistakes committed by the PKI in the past which concerned the fundamental problems of the Indonesian revolution and sets the urgent tasks that should be fulfilled by the PKI.

The birth of the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI marked the turning point in the history of the PKI. It was born as a result of the struggle between the two lines in the Party and through deep-going criticism and self-criticism conducted in a Marxist-Leninist way. The Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI has brought the PKI back to the road of revolution. It has a great and far-reaching significance for the PKI and the Indonesian revolution. By correcting the mistakes of the opportunist and revisionist old line and

summing up the experience of the PKI during the period of 1951-1965, the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI holds aloft the Great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and shows the way that must be followed by the PKI, namely, the road of protracted armed struggle, the road of encircling the cities by the countryside, of building the backward Indonesian villages into advanced revolutionary base areas and powerful bastions of the revolution. The Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI has formulated the New Three Banners of the PKI to win victory for the Indonesian People's Democratic Revolution, namely:

"The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

"The second banner, the armed people's struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

"The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class".

The New Three Banners of the PKI which conforms with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has played and will continue to play an important role in leading the Indonesian revolution.

The two documents published after the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, namely, the Message of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI on May 23, 1967 and the Programme of the Communist Party of Indonesia for People's Democracy in Indonesia are documents which further stress and confirm the lines as laid down by the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI. The Message of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI on May 23, 1967 which is entitled: *Hold Aloft the Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought: March Forward Along the Road of Revolution!*, has

emphatically declared the stand of the PKI with regard to Mao Tsetung Thought, Marxism-Leninism of the present era, as the ideology and the theoretical basis guiding the whole Party and which will guarantee the victory of the Indonesian revolution. The Message has also stressed the stand adopted by the PKI in the struggle against modern revisionism headed by the revisionist renegade clique of the Soviet Union, and joyously hailed the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China which has consolidated socialist China as the most powerful and reliable bastion of the world revolution.

The Programme of the Communist Party of Indonesia for People's Democracy in Indonesia (November 1967) is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist programme. This new Programme of the PKI has outlined the strategy of the Indonesian revolution and firmly grasped the thesis of Chairman Mao, that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a**

gun" and that **"the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution"**. The new Programme of the PKI has clearly and explicitly put forward the three main weapons of the revolution to defeat the enemies of revolution, and explained their interrelations.

These documents published by the Political Bureau of the CC PKI show that the PKI, in the period of 1951-1965, had not yet mastered nor used the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, so that it made serious mistakes of opportunist and revisionist line and consequently the revolution had temporarily failed. Having realized its mistakes, the PKI carries out criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, is resolved to take the road of revolution and leads the Indonesian peo-

ple in the struggle to carry out the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia.

These documents of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI are a call to all Indonesian Communists, workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal patriotic and revolutionary forces, to unite closely and smash the Suharto fascist military regime which has betrayed the national interests of the Indonesian people. These documents have laid down a clear and correct line for the PKI to lead the armed struggle to overthrow the Suharto fascist military regime, by establishing a broad revolutionary united front, the united front based on worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The Indonesian people, guided by the revolutionary lines of the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI and under the leadership of the PKI, have started to launch armed struggle in the rural areas of the In-

donesian archipelago, mounted attacks against the enemies of the people, against the organs of the rule of the Suharto fascist military regime which represents the interests of imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, compradores and feudalism. This start of the armed struggle has made the masses of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the entire revolutionary people of Indonesia understand more clearly the road that must be taken by the Indonesian people in their struggle for liberation.

In contradiction with the stand of the members of the PKI who are loyal to the Marxist-Leninist Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI and with the stand of the Indonesian revolutionary people, the Indonesian revisionist renegades who are directed by the modern revisionists of the Soviet Union, oppose the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI and oppose the armed struggle and people's

war now being waged under the leadership of the PKI in accordance with the teachings of Mao Tsetung Thought. They brand these as "adventurism", and frighten the people with the horrors of war. These renegades will surely be crushed by the revolutionary armed struggle of the Indonesian people.

In carrying out the correct line by following the road of armed revolution, we will inevitably face all kinds of difficulties, but these are only obstacles along the road of progress which can assuredly be surmounted. As the New Programme of the PKI has stated: "The only road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people is that of armed revolution. . . . This is not an easy road, but a long one which is full of twists and turns, hardships and difficulties. But this is the only road leading to liberation. There is no other road, nor can there be". The difficulties we are encountering today are the difficulties in applying the correct line

which perspective is the victory of the revolution. The Message sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PKI on May 23, 1970, has correctly stated: "Although various difficulties confront the Indonesian revolution at present, they are temporary and will certainly pass. The Communist Party of China is deeply convinced that having summed up the bitter experiences of the past, the Indonesian Communist Party will surely win final victory by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary practice of Indonesia, closely uniting the whole Party against the common enemy, unswervingly taking the road of 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun' and adhering to the principle of self-reliance and arduous struggle, fully

relying on the masses and mobilizing and organizing the masses, particularly the peasant masses, on an extensive scale and in a deep-going way".

It is of the utmost importance for each Communist and for every one of the revolutionary Indonesian people to make further and thorough study, to propagate and to carry out consistently the revolutionary line of the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI. The Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI belongs to the Indonesian working class and revolutionary people. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and under the direction of the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are waging a protracted struggle to overthrow the Suharto fascist military regime and establish a people's democratic power in Indonesia, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the world

Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people against the common enemies — imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries.

DELEGATION OF
THE CC OF THE PKI

September 1971

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(Message of the Political Bureau of
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HOLD ALOFT THE REPUTATION
AND HONOUR OF THE
COMMUNIST!

(Message of the Political Bureau
of the CC PKI, May 23, 1966)

Jogjakarta, May 23, 1966

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**ENCOURAGE CRITICISM FROM BELOW
AND PROMOTE THE CRITICAL
MIND OF PARTY MEMBERS!**

On May 23, 1966, the PKI marks the 46th anniversary of its founding. Unlike what it used to be in the last few years, the present anniversary of our Party is observed under the most difficult conditions for the Communists and non-Party revolutionaries, when the Right-wing forces headed by the Nasution-Suharto clique of generals have unleashed the most vicious white terror in the past seven months, and committed the most brutal and outrageous crimes, unprecedented in modern Indonesian history. The Party organization as well as other revolutionary organizations have suffered very serious damage. Not less than 200,000 Communists, including their principal

leaders, as well as non-Communist progressives were brutally murdered. Not less than 300,000 others were thrown into prisons, where they are subjected to mental and physical torture. Tens of thousands of families have been deprived of their livelihood. Nevertheless, the Communists and their militant sympathizers do not let the birthday of their beloved and revered Party pass unobserved. In prisons and detention camps, in places where they have escaped arrest and terror, yes, on the freshly dug graves of our comrades where grass has hardly grown, Party members mark the birthday of the PKI as an event of great historical significance in the struggle of the Indonesian working people for complete national independence, democracy and socialism.

Today, we bow in tribute to our comrades and Party sympathizers of all generations who have selflessly laid down their lives in the great struggle of the Indonesian people for independence and liberation and for the cause

of Communism. We solemnly pledge that we will wholeheartedly follow their path of struggle, and transform this sorrow into an unyielding determination to continue the struggle.

The spokesmen of the Indonesian Right-wing forces, after having reviewed the results of their barbarous terror such as the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Communists, including their principal leaders, the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands more, the purge of what they call elements of the "September 30th Movement" from civil and military posts, and the decree on the dissolution of the PKI, smugly said that now the PKI can no longer play any role in political life. They have even arrogantly declared that the PKI and Marxism-Leninism do not deserve the right to existence in Indonesia. However, history has proved and will continue to prove that even the most brutal suppression in the present era can never succeed in destroying the

Communist Party and the Communist teachings.

Since more than a century ago when the Communist movement began to spread in Europe, the world reactionaries have joined their forces to suppress it. But far from stamping it out, they have not even succeeded in blocking the development of this movement. The Communist movement has scored victory stage by stage, and just after a little more than a century it has succeeded in liberating hundreds of millions of people in various countries from capitalist exploitation and has built Socialism. It has given tremendous encouragement to the struggle for independence and national liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The birth of the PKI 46 years ago was in conformity with the process of world history and with the needs and objective conditions of the development of the struggle of the Indonesian working class. The victory of the

Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 gave the Indonesian Marxists, who were then organized in the Social Democratic Association of the Indies (PSDH), the lesson that to really become a political force capable of leading the struggle of the Indonesian people for liberation and Socialism, the Indonesian working class must have a Party of a new type, the Communist Party of Indonesia. Such a political party as the PSDH could no longer meet the objective demand of the struggle of the Indonesian working class. Thus the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian working class had given birth to the PKI.

As is the case with the history of the Communist Parties in other countries of the world, the history of the PKI during the last 46 years has been a period full of upheavals, characterized by sharp and uninterrupted bitter struggles against the various domestic

and foreign reactionary forces, and also against the enemies within the ranks of the Party. For the Dutch imperialists and the Japanese fascist militarists in the past, as well as for the U.S. imperialists and the domestic reactionaries today, the PKI is a force in Indonesia they fear most, because it represents the greatest menace to their very interests. This is the reason why the Dutch imperialists, the Japanese fascist militarists, the U.S. imperialists as well as the domestic reactionaries have never stopped concocting plots against the PKI and have always been seeking for a chance to destroy it. Repeatedly the PKI has been subjected to heavy blows in its unceasing struggle. Time and again, victims have fallen from its ranks, consisting of its best cadres, including its principal leaders. However, each time after it suffered a blow, the PKI would rise again in greater strength after correcting its mistakes.

When the armed struggle of the Indonesian people under the leadership

of the PKI to overthrow the Dutch colonial regime in 1926 was defeated, the latter meted out the most brutal suppression of the Communists and their sympathizers and decreed the PKI as an outlawed party. But was the PKI destroyed after the first rampaging white terror? No! The PKI continued to exist and carried on the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. In 1935, for the second time, the Dutch colonial regime struck at the PKI. But those Communists who escaped arrest continued the struggle together with the other patriots in the anti-fascist front. And during the Japanese fascist militarist occupation the PKI waged an unremitting fight against it. During this period of occupation the PKI suffered another serious blow. A great number of victims fell, consisting of important cadres and principal leaders of the Party. But still the PKI was not destroyed. Those Communists who were still alive together with young cadres who emerged in the struggle

against Japanese fascist terror, continued the struggle against the fascists, and together with the other patriotic forces played an active role in pushing ahead the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, and, later on, took an active part in the armed struggle to defend the Republic of Indonesia against the armed aggression by the Dutch imperialists. In 1948, the reactionary Hatta government, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, launched a large-scale and barbarous white terror against the PKI. Again this time it lost its principal leaders. However, the PKI rose up again and grew after taking an active part in the second war of independence. In 1951, the reactionary Sukiman government tried to unleash another white terror against the PKI but ended in complete failure.

Apart from the blows suffered by the PKI on a national scale, its local organizations suffered severe blows by the domestic reactionaries such as

during the white terror of the DI/TII, PRRI/Permesta,* etc. All these blows proved to be incapable of liquidating the PKI. During the last 14 years the PKI has even grown and expanded throughout the country reaching a membership of more than 3 million. During this period the PKI played an important role not only in the fight to crush the counter-revolutionary rebellions at home, but also in the struggle to foil the policy of the U.S. imperialists

* DI/TII: Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Army). A reactionary armed movement and its political wing which perpetrated terrorism and lootings, arsons, etc. against the people in West and Central Java, and in South Sulawesi.

PRRI/Permesta: Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) and the acronym of Perdjjuangan Semesta (Overall Struggle). Counter-revolutionary rebellious groups in 1958 backed by U.S. imperialism, in Sumatra (PRRI) and in North Sulawesi (Permesta).

aimed at dominating Indonesia. This historical experience proves that once the PKI comes into existence it can never be annihilated, no matter how severe is the storm which strikes at it. Once history has given birth to the PKI, it will exist forever until it has carried out, through to the finish, the historical mission which rests upon its shoulders, that is, to lead the Indonesian proletariat in the liberation of the nation, in the building of Socialism and Communism. The eternal source of life of the PKI is none other than the working class and the working people of Indonesia.

Now, once again, the PKI is undergoing a test. The defeat of the "September 30th Movement" has been exploited by the Right-wing forces, headed by the Nasution-Suharto clique of generals, to unleash a third white terror, after the PKI had been living through a period of relatively peaceful struggle long enough for a semi-independent and semi-feudal country. Once again the

question arises: will the PKI this time rise again in greater strength?

On the basis of the objective laws of the development of the Indonesian society and of historical experience, it is entirely without doubt that the PKI not only will rise again in greater strength, but that it will certainly succeed in leading the Indonesian working class and working people in the fight to overthrow the power of the Indonesian Right-wing forces, which are backed by the imperialists headed by the U.S., and will succeed in leading the Indonesian people to a new era, free from oppression by imperialism and feudal vestiges.

The Indonesian Right-wing forces headed by the Nasution-Suharto clique of the Right-wing army generals are at the moment indeed in a superior position in comparison with the people's forces. They have won victory and are consolidating this victory. But theirs is not an everlasting position, and not even one which is in conformity

with historical necessity. It is the contrary which is a historical necessity, that is, that the imperialists and all reactionaries shall be the losers and that the people shall be the victors. This historical necessity will become a reality through hard struggle. By way of hard, tenacious, daring and skilful struggle by the Communists to arouse and to organize anew the masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, it is sure that the situation can be changed, that the people's forces can take over the position which is now occupied by the forces of the Right-wing group.

The objective factors, both international and national, will prove that the Right-wing forces, now consolidating their victory, have with them fatal weaknesses, which will certainly lead to their final defeat. It is imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism, which has become the main prop of the rule of the Right-wing forces, as has been increasingly proven with each

passing day. But today imperialism is no longer a force that can become a firm mainstay of the reactionaries in those countries who rely on imperialism. In India, for instance, U.S. imperialist "aid" can not free that country from the grip of an ever deepening economic crisis, and thus can not help improve the position of the country's reactionary rulers. In South Vietnam, not only financial "aid", but even the direct war of aggression against the people launched by two-thirds of the U.S. aggressor troops stationed in Southeast Asia, equipped with the most modern weapons, can not save the reactionary clique of the Saigon regime from its doom, nor can it prevent the South Vietnamese people from liberating themselves from the clutches of imperialism and the domestic reactionaries. Such is also the case in Laos, Thailand and definitely in Indonesia. With power completely in the hands of the Right-wing forces, who represent the interests of the imperialists, the

bureaucrat-capitalists, the compradore-bourgeoisie and the landlords, there is no possibility to ensure the basic interests of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes, that is, the workers, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. An increasingly sharp contradiction is bound to develop between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes of the country on the one hand, and the Right-wing forces representing the interests of the imperialists and the domestic big exploiting classes on the other. Within the camp of the big exploiting classes a struggle for power will also develop fiercely. All these are the national and international objective factors, which constitute the fatal weaknesses of the Right-wing forces that would make it possible to defeat them.

As to how far could this possibility be translated into reality, it depends upon the capability of the subjective factor, that is, the capability of the PKI in continuing to lead the struggle of

the workers and peasants. That's why the urgent task being faced by the Indonesian Communists at the moment is to rebuild the greatly damaged PKI, and, at the same time, to arouse and organize anew the popular masses, in particular the workers and peasants and to build up, on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, a united front with other democratic forces in order to fight the rule of the Right-wing forces, the mainstay of the imperialists. The PKI must educate the Indonesian people that the only way to get rid of a deficient life, misery and humiliation, is to overthrow the power of the Right-wing forces, who represent the interests of imperialism and of the domestic big exploiting classes, and to establish a people's regime, the regime of people's democracy, that is, a democratic dictatorship of the workers, peasants and other democratic elements. It is only such a regime that will be able to completely eradicate imperialism and the

vestiges of feudalism and to wipe out bureaucrat-capitalists, compradore-capitalists and other corrupt elements and in this way a real change of the people's living conditions can be brought about.

These tasks are arduous, complicated and fraught with dangers. But this is the only way for the Communists to be able to fulfil their mission. It is our confidence that every Communist who is conscious of the historical mission he carries on his shoulders, has always the will to carry out his task to the best of his ability, thus holding aloft the reputation and honour of the Communist.

The history of the PKI's development during the past 46 years is also one of an incessant struggle to grasp firmly the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and to put it into practice correctly according to the concrete conditions of the Indonesian society and revolution. Experience has taught us that to firmly grasp the universal

truth of Marxism-Leninism and to apply it to the concrete conditions of the Indonesian society and revolution will be possible only if the PKI cadres, in particular those most responsible in the Party leadership, have the most correct, unfragmentary and systematic understanding — one which is practical and not abstract — of Marxism-Leninism and of applying it in analysing the concrete problems arising from the life of Indonesian society. A subjective, one-sided and superficial interpretation and petty bourgeois arrogance will impede one's effort to gain a systematic understanding of Marxism-Leninism, to obtain a practical and not an abstract theoretical knowledge, and therefore this will lead to political and organizational mistakes.

The fact that the counter-revolutionary forces could, in a brief space of time, strike at and inflict enormous damage on the PKI obliges us, who can still continue this revolutionary struggle, to carry out criticism and self-

criticism, as the only correct way to find out our shortcomings and errors in the theoretical, political and organizational fields, so as to rectify them subsequently. We are convinced that by carrying out criticism and self-criticism in a correct manner, that is, doing it honestly, wholeheartedly and free from petty bourgeois ambitions and with the aim of improving our service—individual as well as collective—to our people and fatherland, our Party will gradually emerge from the current difficult situation.

In the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, the PKI is one of the parties actively opposing Khrushchovite modern revisionism, which for the time being has done great harm to the struggle of the international proletariat for Socialism and to the national liberation struggle of the peoples against old and new colonialism. In relation to the fight against modern revisionism, the PKI has warned that the gains which have been won in a relatively peaceful

struggle during a fairly long period of time have facilitated the emergence of modern revisionism, which finds expression, among other things, in the allegation that the power of the imperialists and the reactionary classes of the country can be defeated by parliamentary peaceful ways or by the gradual undermining of their power. Such allegation may also arise from among those who can not endure the extremely difficult situation faced by the Party and the people's revolutionary movement in general. For this reason our Party must continue to raise high the banner of anti-revisionism.

Apart from this, the Party has to ceaselessly combat petty bourgeois impatience, which leads to adventurism. The Party must make intensive efforts to eradicate completely subjectivism, which, in the history of the Party, has given birth to Right-wing as well as "Left-wing" opportunist mistakes. The struggle against subjectivism within our Party must not be belittled in view

of the fact that Indonesian society, which represents an ocean of the petty bourgeoisie, is the principal source of subjectivism and also in view of the generally low level of the theoretical knowledge of our Party's members and cadres.

From those comrades who, because of their deep sense of responsibility, continue to lead the Party at various levels, we expect hard efforts to encourage the full play of the critical thinking of the members and of criticism from below, notwithstanding the difficult conditions.

On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the Party, we express our deep gratitude to the fraternal Parties for all their sympathy and solidarity. Their manifestations of sympathy and solidarity have further strengthened our confidence in the invincibility of the Communist movement in the world as a whole as well as in Indonesia. The PKI is sure that in the days to come the solidarity of the fraternal Marxist-

Leninist Parties will grow in extent and scale. The PKI will work hard in order to meet the best wishes of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties for the defeat of the Indonesian reactionary forces, who enjoy the full support of the imperialists, the U.S. in particular.

Let us transform this sorrow into a steel-like determination to defeat, once and for all, the home reactionaries!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the liberating ideology of the peoples of the world!

Long live the heroic people of Indonesia!

Glory to the PKI!

POLITICAL BUREAU OF
THE CC OF THE PKI

Jogjakarta, May 23, 1966

**TAKE THE ROAD OF
REVOLUTION TO REALIZE
THE TASKS WHICH SHOULD
HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED
BY THE 1945 AUGUST
REVOLUTION**

(Statement of the Political Bureau
of the CC PKI, August 17, 1966)

Central Java, August 17, 1966

POLITICAL BUREAU OF
THE CC OF THE PKI

September 21, 1966

The Indonesian people observe the 21st anniversary of the 1945 August Revolution in a situation when the counter-revolutionaries headed by the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution rule over the country. The driving forces of the revolution are experiencing a grave setback, as a result of the most savage and unbridled white terror against revolutionary and democratic organizations and people, in particular against the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) and the Communists. Modern Indonesian history has never witnessed such a rampant counter-revolutionary terror, which barbarism is comparable only to that of Hitlerite Nazism, as has been unleashed by the forces headed by the reactionary generals in the army during this period of almost one year. Nevertheless, no matter how vicious and barbarous the

counter-revolutionaries have run amok, they will never succeed in stamping out the revolutionary élan of the working class, the peasantry and other motive forces of the revolution.

Developments in the last few months have demonstrated that the crisis, that is to say the most difficult situation undergone by the revolutionary movement in face of the attack by counter-revolution, which was marked by the indecisiveness of the leadership, the disarray of organization, passiveness in the face of rampaging terror, etc. has in the main been overcome. Step by step, the revolutionaries and the democrats are reorganizing themselves and waging resistance against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto and Nasution. All of this has been accomplished under the most difficult and grave conditions, under the threat of incessant terror. How unbreakable is the revolutionary spirit of the Indonesian people!

The PKI, which by virtue of historical necessity occupies the position as vanguard of the working class and all revolutionary forces in Indonesia, not only is beginning to rebuild its organization from the serious damage it has suffered, but due to the practising of criticism and self-criticism within the leadership and within the whole Party, it is beginning to return to the correct road, the road of revolution which is illuminated by Marxism-Leninism.

The revolutionaries observe the Seventeenth of August today under the most difficult situation, but with a clear mind about the road that has to be taken to realize the tasks which should have been accomplished by the August Revolution of 1945. The 1945 August Revolution itself, though it failed in achieving its objective goal, was nevertheless a very important historical event and experience. The August Revolution of 1945 has aroused the political consciousness of the Indonesian

people to a degree which is unattainable in a situation when no revolution is taking place. It has aroused the courage of the people to struggle. It has given the lesson to the Indonesian proletariat and the PKI on the tasks they have to fulfil in order to carry out their historical mission as the leader in the struggle for liberation of the Indonesian people. No other way is more correct in observing the Seventeenth of August than to draw the lessons from the August Revolution, especially from the causes of its failure.

WHY HAS THE AUGUST REVOLUTION OF 1945 FAILED TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVE GOAL?

Based on objective conditions, since Indonesia at the time of the outbreak of the revolution was a colonial and semi-feudal country, the 1945 August Revolution had the character of a bourgeois democratic revolution having

twin tasks, i.e. to drive away imperialism from Indonesia, in order to liberate the whole nation, and to realize democratic reforms, that is to say to liquidate entirely the remnants of feudalism, in order to liberate the peasants from the feudal oppression of foreign and native landlords.

By virtue of historical necessity, the August Revolution of 1945 was not an old-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose task is to liquidate the remnants of feudalism to pave the way for the development of capitalism. The August Revolution of 1945 took place in the era of the downfall of capitalism, the era of world proletarian socialist revolution, the era of transition from capitalism to Socialism and Communism, which has been started since the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. That is why the 1945 August Revolution was part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution. The complete victory of a new-type

bourgeois democratic revolution will provide the conditions for socialist revolution. Consequently, the perspective of the 1945 August Revolution was Socialism and Communism.

The motive forces of the 1945 August Revolution were the working class or the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie other than the peasantry. The anti-imperialist aspect of the 1945 August Revolution, which manifested itself very clearly at the start of the revolution, had made it possible for the mobilization of the very broad strata of the Indonesian population. Not only the national bourgeoisie which, to a certain degree, adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stand, but other patriotic elements, including even patriotic landlords, had taken part in or contributed to the war of independence against the Dutch imperialists.

However, not all classes and forces which had taken part in the struggle to resist the Dutch imperialist aggres-

sion at the early stage of the revolution had the same objective in giving content to the national independence achieved as a result of the revolution against imperialism. The exploiting classes, including the national bourgeoisie, did not aim farther than safeguarding and promoting the interests of their own classes. Therefore, these classes did not have the aim to liberate the Indonesian people from all forms of exploitation.

The compradores like Hatta, Sjahrir and other leaders of the Right-wing social democrats, as well as leaders of the Masjumi* and their like, did not have the slightest aspiration for a completely independent and democratic Indonesia. From the very beginning of

*Masjumi (Madjlis Sjura Muslimin Indonesia), an arch-reactionary political party of the Right-wing Moslem group. Supported the DI/TII covertly, while its leading figures led the rebellion of the PRRI/Permesta, in 1958.

the August Revolution, they had unceasingly tried to sabotage the revolution, by making reactionary compromises with the Dutch imperialists. They were traitors to the revolution.

The national bourgeoisie, owing to its vacillating character in the struggle against imperialism, joined the comprador-bourgeoisie in betraying the revolution, when it was faced by one defeat after another and the forces of the revolution became weaker.

The peasantry which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian population and the most oppressed by the remnants of feudalism, is the main force of the revolution. According to its character, the August Revolution of 1945 should have been the revolution of the peasantry, a revolution which should have liberated them from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism. But the peasantry will attain their liberation themselves only when they are led by the proletariat. And only when the proletariat has

succeeded in integrating itself in a firm alliance with the peasantry, then it will be able to lead the revolution to a victorious end.

The Indonesian working class or proletariat, despite its small number, represents new productive forces in Indonesia. It is the most advanced and the most revolutionary class, possessing organizational consciousness and strong discipline. As a class that has no property to guard in this era of capitalism, the working class is the most consistent in our country in the struggle against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. The working class is the least ambitious, whose sole aim is the abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression. This is the reason why the working class takes the position as leader of the struggle for the emancipation of the Indonesian people. The August Revolution of 1945 actually should be led by the Indonesian working class.

Characterizing the class nature of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in a bourgeois democratic revolution, Lenin said that "the very position the bourgeoisie occupies as a class in capitalist society inevitably causes it to be inconsistent in a democratic revolution. The very position the proletariat occupies as a class compels it to be consistently democratic. The bourgeoisie looks backward, fearing democratic progress, which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but with the aid of democracy it has the whole world to gain". (Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*).

To realize the leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution the working class should establish a revolutionary united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. Among the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups in Indonesia, the peasantry is

the most reliable ally of the working class. Therefore, the alliance of the workers and the peasants under the leadership of the working class constitutes the basis of such a revolutionary united front. The petty bourgeoisie other than the peasantry is an ally of the working class that can be trusted. And the national bourgeoisie is an ally at a given period and to a certain extent.

In order to be able to unite and lead all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes, the working class must have a correct programme and correct tactics acceptable to its allies, to be the guide of the revolution. It must have a strong organization and must set an example in the realization of the national tasks. As for the correct programme, it is very important to have a revolutionary agrarian programme to forge the alliance of the workers and the peasants. As for the correct tactics, it is very important to master various forms of struggle, and in revolution, particularly the in-

Indonesian revolution, to master the form of armed struggle which is integrated with and supported by the peasantry. All of this can be realized when the proletariat has its own political party, namely the Communist Party of Indonesia, which is entirely led by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, and free from all kinds of opportunism.

The experience of the 1945 August Revolution has shown that the PKI as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class had not yet been able in taking up its position as the leader of the struggle for the emancipation of the Indonesian people. The PKI joined the 1945 August Revolution without adequate preparations. Its serious weakness in theory and its lack of understanding of the concrete conditions of Indonesian society had resulted in its inability to determine the character of the revolution, draw up its tasks, programme, tactics and slogans, and decide the correct principles and forms of its

organization. The high reputation the PKI enjoyed in the eyes of the Indonesian people earned through its heroism in fighting imperialism during the time of Dutch colonial domination and of the fascist Japanese occupation had failed to establish the leadership of the PKI in the August Revolution of 1945.

This theoretical weakness and inability to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the world and of Indonesia, had resulted in the PKI being unable to make use of this highly favourable opportunity given by the August Revolution of 1945 to overcome its shortcomings. The PKI did not consistently lead the armed struggle against Dutch imperialism, did not develop guerrilla warfare that was integrated with the democratic movement of the peasants, thus winning their full support, as the only way to defeat the war of aggression launched by the Dutch imperialists. On the contrary, the PKI even approved of and itself followed

the policy of reactionary compromises of Sjahrir's Right-wing socialists. The PKI did not establish the alliance of the working class and the peasantry by leading the anti-feudal struggle in the countryside and did not establish, on the basis of such a worker-peasant alliance, a united front with all other democratic forces. The PKI did not consolidate its strength, on the contrary, it even relegated to the background its own role. These are the reasons why the August Revolution of 1945 did not proceed as it should, did not achieve the decisive victory, and finally failed in reaching its objective goal.

The awareness of its shortcomings and mistakes and the efforts to return the revolution to its correct path, set forth in the Resolution of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PKI "The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia" adopted in August 1948, could no longer prevent the failure of the revolution.

THE BASIC PROBLEM OF EVERY REVOLUTION IS THE PROBLEM OF STATE POWER

It is an absolute condition for every revolutionary, and even more so for every Communist, to grasp the truth that "the basic problem of every revolution is the problem of state power". Unless this question is understood there can be no conscious participation in the revolution. Because, revolution in its most concrete sense is the overthrow of the power of the oppressor classes, or the seizure of state power by force from the hands of the oppressor classes by the oppressed classes. The oppressed classes, in order to liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression, have no other way but to make revolution, that is to say overthrowing by force the oppressor classes from state power, or seizing state power by force. Because, the state is an instrument created by the ruling classes to oppress the ruled classes.

But, for a real people's revolution in the present modern era, it is not enough just to wrest the power from the hands of the oppressor classes, and to make use of the power that has been wrested. Marx has taught us that the destruction of the old military-bureaucratic state machine is "the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution" (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*). A genuine people's revolution will achieve decisive victory only after it has accomplished this prerequisite, while at the same time sets up a completely new state apparatus whose task is to suppress by force and mercilessly the resistance put up by the overthrown oppressor classes.

What should the August Revolution of 1945 have done with regard to the state power?

As a prerequisite, the August Revolution of 1945 should have smashed the colonial state machine along with all of its apparatuses that had been established to maintain colonial domina-

tion of Indonesia, and **not merely transferred the power** to the Republic of Indonesia. The August Revolution of 1945 should have established a completely new state, a state **jointly ruled** by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes **under the leadership of the working class**.

This is what is called a People's Democratic state. As an instrument of the national democratic revolution, this People's Democratic state must exercise a dictatorship, **to suppress by force of arms and mercilessly all the enemies of the revolution** (imperialism and its compradores and feudal landlords), which after being overthrown would certainly put up multiple resistance. To the people, that is to say to the forces supporting the revolution, this state **should give the broadest democratic liberties**. Therefore, such a state is called the people's democratic dictatorship. The 1945 August Revolution can only be considered as having achieved a decisive victory if it had succeeded in

establishing such a people's democratic dictatorship. Because, only such a state would be capable of ensuring the complete expulsion of imperialism and the total liquidation of the remnants of feudalism, and by so doing usher the people into a fully independent and democratic new Indonesia, heading towards Socialism.

But in a situation when the leadership of revolution was not in the hands of the proletariat, the preliminary condition for the 1945 August Revolution, namely the destruction of the colonial state machine, was not realized as should have been done.

The state power that came into being was not the people's democratic dictatorship. The participation of Communists in the government and even when the cabinet was led by a Communist, did not give the Republic of Indonesia the nature of a people's state, because the apparatuses of colonial bureaucracy were not entirely smashed and substituted by completely new appara-

tuses created by and in the service of the revolution. People whose minds were rusty from long servitude to the colonial régime were not cleared away from the apparatuses of the state power. In the countryside, political power was still in the hands of feudal rulers. The effort made to abolish the system of personal administration in the countryside by establishing Indonesian National Committees at village level met with failure. Frequently actions by the people to completely destroy the apparatuses of colonial bureaucracy, including the overthrow of bad officials, the democratization of regional administration including the abolition of feudal self-governments in certain regions, were suppressed violently by the Republican state power on the pretext that these actions were "anarchistic", "striking at random", "establishing a state within the state", etc.

Due to the absence of the working class' leadership, the Republic of Indonesia was inevitably a state ruled by the

bourgeoisie, in which the proletariat participated. A state with such a class character could never become an **instrument** of the 1945 August Revolution. Without the people's democratic dictatorship, the August Revolution of 1945 did not have an instrument to defeat its enemies, and consequently was unable to accomplish its tasks, namely the complete liquidation of imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism.

The voluntary resignation of the cabinet led by the Communists in 1948 had opened up the broadest opportunity for the reactionary bourgeoisie led by Muhamad Hatta to make the state power fall into their hands. This reactionary bourgeoisie then betrayed the August Revolution by unleashing white terror in the Madiun Affair as a prelude to the restoration of the Dutch imperialist interests through the conclusion of the humiliating agreement of the Round Table Conference, which turned Indonesia into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Since then,

the Republic of Indonesia was no longer an instrument to complete the 1945 August Revolution, but rather an instrument in the hands of the Indonesian compradore-bourgeoisie and landlords to protect the interests of imperialism and to maintain the remnants of feudalism, as well as to suppress the people, especially the workers and the peasants, who struggle against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. This anti-people nature of the state power had been glaringly proved by the suppression of democratic rights, among other things by forbidding the workers to strike and by the eviction by force of arms of the peasants, who occupied imperialist-owned plantations. The chief instrument of the state power, the armed forces, that was born in the August Revolution of 1945, and which had been purged of Communist and other revolutionary elements through the "rationalization" programme, particularly through the white terror of the Madiun Affair, was further conformed

with the class nature of the state that had been transformed into a protector of the interests of imperialism and the reactionary classes within the country, by incorporating elements of the puppet troops formed by the Dutch imperialists, and by subjecting it to the influence of the Dutch Military Mission.

The resurgence of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people in continuing the fight against imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism after the Round Table Conference had gained certain political victories which were partial and in the nature of a reform; these had been achieved by lessening the anti-democratic character of the bourgeois power. The highest level of political reforms that had ever been achieved by the struggle of the Indonesian people was the establishment of a government which, to a certain degree, granted democratic liberties to the people, and to a certain extent suppressed counter-revolutionary rebellions and other

counter-revolutionary actions by the domestic Right-wing forces such as the RMS,* DI/TII, PRRI/Permesta, etc. Acting on the demands of the people, this government took measures against the economic interests of imperialism, put restrictions on the penetration of imperialist cultural influence, pursued an anti-imperialist foreign policy, and gave the opportunity to the representatives of the proletariat to participate in the government, without, however, holding real power.

However, it was a great mistake to assume that the existence of such a government signified a fundamental change in the class character of the state power. It was equally incorrect to assume that the above-mentioned facts marked the birth and the development of an *aspect* representing the interests

*RMS: Republik Maluku Selatan (The Republic of South Moluccas), a separatist movement in the Moluccas. Instigated by the Dutch colonialists, it launched an armed rebellion in 1950.

of the people, or of a *pro-people aspect* within the state power. Such an erroneous line as was formulated in the "theory of two aspects in state power", assumed that within the state power of the Republic of Indonesia there existed two aspects, the anti-people aspect consisting of compradore, bureaucrat-capitalist and landlord classes on the one hand, and the "pro-people aspect" composed mainly of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the other hand. According to this "two-aspect theory", a miracle could happen in Indonesia, namely that the state could cease to be an instrument of the ruling oppressor classes to subjugate other classes, but it could be made an instrument shared by both the oppressor classes and the oppressed classes. And the fundamental change in state power, that is to say the birth of a people's power, could be peacefully accomplished by developing the "pro-people aspect" and gradually liquidating the "anti-people aspect".

The "theory of two aspects in state power" was a mistake of one-sidedness or *subjectivism* in the application of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, particularly its teaching on *contradiction*. It was also a *deviation* from the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution which among others said that "the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode", that "the forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie", and that "the supersession of the bourgeois state" . . . "is impossible without a violent revolution". (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*).

It was true that in the state power at that time there existed a contradiction between the compradore-bourgeoisie and the pro-imperialist landlords on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie which to a certain extent,

was anti-imperialist and democratic, on the other. But the existence of this contradiction did not alter the nature of the state as an instrument of repression in the hands of the classes dominating the economic field. Due to the blows dealt by the revolutionary and the democratic forces against the Right-wing forces, particularly by the destruction of the counter-revolutionary armed forces such as the DI/TIL, PRRI/Permesta, etc. the national bourgeoisie which to a certain limit was anti-imperialist and democratic was able, with the support of the people, to undermine to a certain extent the position of the compradore-bourgeoisie and the landlords in the state power. Such a situation was reflected in the establishment of a government which, to a certain extent, was anti-imperialist and democratic. To defend its position in facing the compradore-bourgeoisie and the landlords, it was in the interest of the national bourgeoisie to draw a greater support from the people. And for this

purpose, to a degree that would not endanger its own class interests, the national bourgeoisie was willing to give political concessions to the proletariat by giving the representatives of the proletariat, namely the Communists, positions which were not directly related to the real decisive power of the state.

It is not that in principle the Communists are not allowed to take part in a bourgeois democratic government, but should they take part in such a government, their participation must not be intended to consolidate the bourgeois dictatorship, but rather to defend the independent interests of the working class and other working people, and to raise the consciousness of the people that the bourgeois power is incapable of ensuring the vital interests of the people.

According to the theory on contradiction, in view of the participation of the representatives of the proletariat in the government, it is a correct analysis that there existed contradiction in the state

power between the compradore-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords which constitute the forces of pro-imperialism and the remnants of feudalism (anti-people aspect), on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat (the people aspect or the pro-people aspect) on the other hand. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that, also according to the theory on contradiction, within the people's forces existed a contradiction, too. The national bourgeoisie was one aspect of this contradiction, and the proletariat was the other aspect; they constituted two aspects that were in contradiction with each other in the so-called "people aspect" or "pro-people aspect".

The quality of the so-called "people aspect" or "pro-people aspect" was decided by the aspect — the proletariat or the national bourgeoisie — which was dominant in the contradiction. The "people aspect" would have truly represented the interests of the people if it

was the proletarian aspect which was dominant in this contradiction, a sheer impossibility within the frame-work of the bourgeois state power. The fact was that the dominant aspect within the so-called "people aspect" was the national bourgeoisie, and thus the so-called "people aspect" or "pro-people aspect" was none other than the forces of the national bourgeoisie, which could not be considered representing the interests of the people who essentially were the workers and the peasants.

Thus, hoping for a fundamental change in state power, to usher the people into the position of power, through the victory of the "people aspect" over the "anti-people aspect" in line with the "theory of two aspects in state power", was but a pure illusion. The people will be able to gain power only through an armed revolution under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the power of the compradore-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords which

represent the interests of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

The "theory of two aspects" in political power has in practice deprived the proletariat of its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, dissolved the interests of the proletariat in that of the national bourgeoisie, and placed the proletariat in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie.

To return the proletariat to its position of leadership in the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people, it is absolutely necessary to rectify the mistake of the "theory of two aspects in political power", and to correct the erroneous view with regard to Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

THE ROAD TO A COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC NEW INDONESIA

The August Revolution of 1945 in its concrete sense should have been the

seizure of power from the hands of foreign imperialism, the total destruction of the colonial state machine and the establishment of a completely new state power, a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class. In its concrete sense, the 1945 August Revolution lasted for three years only, from 1945 to 1948. The 1945 August Revolution met its definite and total failure when the state power completely fell into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie and was used to suppress the motive forces of the revolution.

Thus, in the subsequent years after 1948 Indonesia has ceased to be in a state of revolution. This does not mean that the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people has also stopped. No! The revolutionary struggle went on, but this was not a revolution. The direct objectives that became the demands of the struggle were not revolutionary changes, nor the uprooting of the old social system, the system of

imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, but reforms in the economic as well as in the political fields. It was a mistake which in fact should not be committed that not a few Indonesian revolutionaries in the past joined in the phrase-mongering that "the revolution has not been finished" and felt as if they continued to be in the atmosphere of actual revolution.

After the outbreak of the August Revolution of 1945, Indonesia ceased to be a colonial country. But this does not mean that Indonesia had become a fully independent country that was completely liberated from the domination of imperialism in the economic, political and cultural fields. The take-over of imperialist-owned enterprises by the government upon the demands of the people was by no means a liquidation of imperialist domination in the economic field. By various means and with the assistance of their compradores, the imperialists, in particular the U.S. imperialists, were still able to

continue their exploitation of the Indonesian people. Furthermore, since the power was not in the hands of the people, the take-over of the imperialist-owned enterprises did not transform them into enterprises owned by the people—through the state's acquisition—and therefore could not improve the living conditions of the people, in particular the living conditions of the workers employed in the enterprises concerned. On the contrary, the take-over of the imperialist-owned enterprises had given birth to the bureaucrat-capitalists, both from among the civilians and, mainly, from among the military, who have finally become the compradores of the imperialists.

Besides, Indonesia was also not yet a truly democratic country free from the remnants of feudalism in the economic, political and cultural fields. The landlord system which had become the basis of feudal exploitation of the peasants was not yet abolished. Similarly, the

autocratic system of government which was manifested in the feudal political power was still preserved in the countryside.

In short, after the August Revolution of 1945, Indonesia has not become an independent country, but is still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. In Indonesia the power is not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of the upper stratum of the bourgeois and landlord classes. Only a handful of Indonesians from among the ruling classes have enjoyed the fruits of independence. While the people, especially the workers and the peasants who paid the greatest sacrifices during the 1945 August Revolution still live under the exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and therefore are still far away from independence and liberation.

The rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices, composed of the bureaucrat-

capitalist, the compradore and the landlord classes, far from reducing the exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, will only intensify this exploitation even further.

As facts have proven, in order to establish their dictatorship over the Indonesian people, the Suharto-Nasution clique of Right-wing army generals is completely relying on the "aids" from the imperialist countries headed by the United States. At the urging of the U.S. imperialists, all the imperialist powers which have given "aids" to Indonesia have set up the so-called "Tokyo Club". In the "Tokyo Club", more effective ways and means are still being considered in giving economic "aids" to Indonesia, starting not from the interests of the Indonesian people, but from the interests of the "aid"-giving imperialist countries, in particular the United States, so that through economic "aids" Indonesia can be saved from "Communist threat"

(meaning saved from the revolution that will liquidate the capital of imperialist countries in Indonesia). The founding of the "Tokyo Club" is but an effort of international imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism to jointly decide on the more effective method to practise neo-colonialism in Indonesia.

This fact cannot be hidden by high-sounding phraseology created by the domestic reactionaries and international imperialism, such as "aids from industrially developed countries", "economic aids based on mutual benefit", "with foreign aids to accelerate the achievement of self-reliance", etc. No, absolutely it cannot be! The facts will still speak for themselves that in Indonesia, under the rule of the military dictatorship of Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices, and with the help of international imperialism headed by the United States, neo-colonialism is now being built up!

That is why, under the rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices, the Indonesian people will never be free from mental and physical sufferings, from all too deficient a life.

Thousands of workers have become the victims of arbitrary dismissals, while those who still remain on the job not only suffer from wages that are far below their needs, but also from the trampling down of democratic liberties. The same fate also befalls the government officials.

Under the rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices not only are the Basic Agrarian Law and the Law on Crop-Sharing which had given only a little benefit to the peasants no longer implemented, but many of the gains achieved through struggle by the peasants have been forcefully retaken from their hands by the landlords. More high-

handedness towards the peasants will be committed by the landlords under the protection of arms.

Democratic intellectuals can no longer be free to promote their scientific activities. What has been clamoured as "academic freedom" is no more than a freedom to propagate science serving the interests of imperialism and the big exploiting classes within the country. Students and pupils cannot pursue their studies in peace. People's writers and artists no longer have creative liberties, because all literary and art works that serve the interests of the people are suppressed, and only such anti-revolutionary decadent literature and art, as that of the "Cultural Manifesto" and its like, are given free rein.

Under the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, small businessmen and national entrepreneurs, both in industrial and commercial fields too, face a very bleak future.

Since the Indonesian society is still semi-colonial and semi-feudal in nature, since the oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism has not been abolished, and is even being intensified by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals and their accomplices together with international imperialism, it means that the causes leading to a revolution whose character is the same as the 1945 August Revolution, namely a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, still exist. This means that at the proper time another revolution will certainly take place in Indonesia, and that only through this revolution will the Indonesian people liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, establish a completely independent and democratic new Indonesia, leading towards Socialism.

When we say that the Indonesian people will definitely make another revolution whose character is the same

as the 1945 August Revolution, does this mean that the revolution which will certainly come will be entirely the same as the 1945 August Revolution?

The main contradiction in the present Indonesian society is still the same as the main contradiction that existed at the outbreak of the August Revolution of 1945, that is to say imperialism and the remnants of feudalism are locked in a contradiction with the masses of the people who desire full independence and democracy. The system of imperialism and semi-feudalism maintained by the imperialists, their compradores and the landlords stands against the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie and, to a certain degree, also the national bourgeoisie, all of whom want to liquidate the system of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

Thus the target of the revolution remains the same, i.e. imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. Classes which are the enemies of the revolution,

in the main, are also the same, i.e. imperialism, the compradores, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. While the motive forces of the revolution, too, are still the same, i.e. the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. However, the struggle between the target of the revolution and the motive forces of the revolution has undergone certain changes.

The most principal task of the 1945 August Revolution at that time was the seizure of power from the hands of foreign imperialism (Japanese imperialism), and since Dutch imperialism attempted through a war of aggression to restore its colonial domination over the Indonesian people, the latter fought against it by waging the war of independence. Under such a situation, the contradiction between the whole nation and the Dutch imperialism was the main contradiction, while the contradiction between the various classes within the country, including the contradiction between the landlord class

and the peasantry, was subordinated to this main contradiction. At that time, it was correct to say that the task to overthrow imperialism was *primary* of the two urgent tasks, i.e. to overthrow imperialism and to liquidate the remnants of feudalism.

After the outbreak of the August Revolution of 1945, there was no direct imperialist political rule in Indonesia (except in West Irian prior to its liberation). Since the 1945 August Revolution failed, the political power in our country has been in the hands of the domestic reactionary classes, i.e. the compradore-bourgeoisie and the landlords. And during the last decade a new reactionary class has come into being; i.e. the bureaucrat-capitalists. Among them many are coming from the ranks of army officers who acquired their position thanks to the prevalence of the Law of State of War and Siege that has practically been maintained up to this day. It is these bureaucrat-capitalists who, having become comprad-

dores of the imperialists, in particular the U.S. imperialists, now transform themselves into the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices. Under such a situation, it is *incorrect* to say that "overthrowing imperialism" is the primary of the two urgent tasks, i.e. to overthrow imperialism and to liquidate the remnants of feudalism.

After the imperialists no longer directly hold political power in Indonesia, their political interests are represented by the compradore-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords who are holding the state power of the Republic of Indonesia in their hands. Therefore, only by overthrowing the power of the domestic reactionary classes can the overthrow of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism be concretely realized. This is the primary task of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage!

A failure to see the difference in the objective conditions at the time of the outbreak of the 1945 August Revolution and at the subsequent period, and clinging to the slogan of "overthrowing imperialism is primary", at a time when imperialism did not directly hold political power in Indonesia, was a mistake. This mistake had led to a situation in which the development of the revolutionary mass actions by the workers and the peasants for the realization of their political and economic demands was curbed, because class contradiction within the country was compelled to be subordinated to the common struggle "to overthrow imperialism", which in fact did not have any concrete target but the liberation of West Irian, the take-over of imperialist-owned enterprises, and the adherence to an anti-imperialist foreign policy. All of this had much strengthened the position of the bourgeoisie more than the position of the motive forces of the revolution,

i.e. the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie.

Thus, the difference between the 1945 August Revolution and the revolution that will again break out in Indonesia lies in the question of **from whose hands the state power is to be wrested by the people**. The August Revolution of 1945 wrested the state power from the hands of foreign imperialism, while the coming revolution will wrest the state power from the hands of the reactionary classes within the country. Therefore, the contradiction between the domestic reactionary classes which hold state power on the one hand, and the people on the other hand will be very acute and irreconcilable. The coming revolution essentially will still be an agrarian revolution, namely the liberation of the peasantry from the exploitation by the remnants of feudalism and the abolition of the landlord system. At the same time, the revolution will also take anti-imperialist measures.

Today, the Indonesian people are faced by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices, which is the manifestation of power of the most reactionary classes in our country. Under this fascist regime which has deprived the people of their democratic liberties and fundamental human rights, there is no possibility for the Indonesian people to conduct peaceful political and economic actions which are not suppressed by force of arms.

The absence of democracy for the people, and the suppression by force of arms of every revolutionary and democratic movement, inevitably compel the whole people to take up arms in order to defend their rights. The armed struggle of the people against the armed counter-revolution is unavoidable and constitutes the main form of struggle of the coming revolution. Only by taking this road of armed struggle will the Indonesian people succeed in overthrowing

the power of the armed counter-revolutionaries, as a precondition to realize their aspiration for which they have fought for decades, namely independence and liberation.

The inevitability of armed struggle to defeat the armed counter-revolution is understood not only by the Communists, but also by non-Communist revolutionaries. Nevertheless, it is necessary to bear in mind that the armed struggle to defeat armed counter-revolutionary rule, as a revolution, must not be waged in the form of military adventurism, in the form of a putsch, which is detached from the awakening of the popular masses. The revolutionaries must not, even for a second, abandon the principle that it is the people who will liberate themselves. Abandoning this principle will surely end in defeat.

Since the present stage of the Indonesian revolution is essentially an agrarian revolution by the peasantry, the armed struggle of the Indonesian

people, too, essentially will be the armed struggle of the peasants to liberate themselves from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism. The armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution can never be lasting and in the end will surely be defeated, unless it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasants in realizing the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasants to realize the agrarian revolution will succeed in achieving a complete victory, and in really liberating the peasantry from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism, only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat, and when it is not limited to just overthrowing the power of the landlords in the countryside, but is aimed at smashing the entire power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices.

CONCLUSIONS

By studying once more the basic problems from the experience of the August Revolution of 1945, we can draw some conclusions which are of the greatest importance for the Indonesian proletariat and its vanguard, the PKI, in facing their future task, to lead the people's democratic revolution, as the only way to realize the aspiration of the whole Indonesian people which could not be accomplished by the 1945 August Revolution, namely the completely independent and democratic new Indonesia. The conclusions are as follows:

1. The August Revolution of 1945, as a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution whose mission is to completely liquidate the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, would have achieved victory only if it was led by the proletariat. In order to establish its leadership in the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution the proletariat

should, above all, form an alliance with the peasantry, and on the basis of this worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, establish a revolutionary united front with all other revolutionary classes and groups. The proletariat can fulfil its mission as the leader of the revolutionary united front, only when it has correct programme and tactics to be the guidance for the revolution and acceptable to its allies, only when it has a strong organization, and only when it gives an example in the realization of national tasks. As for the correct programme, a revolutionary agrarian programme to forge the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is of a great significance. As for the correct tactics, to master the chief form of struggle, namely the armed struggle which relies on the support of the peasantry, is of a great significance. All of this can be fulfilled, only when the proletariat has its own political party, i.e. the PKI, which is entirely guided by the

revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, and free from all kinds of opportunism.

2. The precondition for the complete realization of the task of the 1945 August Revolution instead of merely seizing the state power from foreign imperialism and transferring it to the Republic of Indonesia, should have been the smashing of the entire colonial state machinery and the establishment of a completely new state, namely the people's democratic dictatorship, constituting the joint power of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. The people's democratic dictatorship, as an instrument of the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, should suppress by violence and mercilessly all the enemies of the revolution, and ensure for the people the broadest democratic rights. Since it was not led by the proletariat, the August Revolution of 1945 did not lay this precondition as it should have done. The colonial state machinery was not completely smashed.

The Republic of Indonesia which was set up, is not the people's democratic dictatorship, but a bourgeois republic.

The erroneous application of the theory on contradiction and the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution had pushed the leadership of the PKI to the opportunist "theory of two aspects" in state power.

3. The emancipation of the Indonesian people from exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism can be attained only through the road of revolution which will surely take place once again, a revolution that has the same character as the 1945 August Revolution, that is to say a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution. The primary task of the coming revolution is the destruction of the power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices, through an

armed struggle. The armed struggle to defeat the armed counter-revolution will be victorious, only when it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasantry to realize the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasantry to realize the agrarian revolution will achieve complete victory only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat to smash the power of all internal counter-revolutionary forces.

4. The tasks faced by the Party for leading the people's democratic revolution to victory are:

First: To continue to rebuild the PKI along the Marxist-Leninist line, to be a Party which is free from all kinds of opportunism and is consistent in fighting against subjectivism and modern revisionism, while at the same time to continue the work to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, mainly the workers and the peasants.

Second: To be ready to lead a protracted armed struggle which is in-

tegrated with the agrarian revolution of the peasants in the countryside.

Third: To form a united front of all the forces that are against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution, a united front that is based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class. These are the Three Banners of the Party in the people's democratic revolution.

Thus we have drawn the lessons from the basic problems of the 1945 August Revolution, and by so doing we have understood the main tasks we are facing in the days to come. We deeply realize that the enemy of the coming revolution is the entire counter-revolution within the country, headed by the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution, who enjoy the support of the imperialists, in particular the U.S. imperialists. But we are also deeply aware that the coming Indonesian

revolution is a revolution longed for by the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people, who have drawn the most invaluable lessons from the 1945 August Revolution. In the same way as the great Chinese Revolution, the glorious Vietnamese Revolution, the victorious Korean and Cuban Revolutions and all other revolutions in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the Indonesian revolution draws its main strength from the peasantry which, as Lenin said, "is capable of becoming a wholehearted and most radical adherent of the democratic revolution". Provided that the proletariat can give the correct leadership, "the peasantry will inevitably become a bulwark of the revolution and the republic, for only a completely victorious revolution can give the peasantry everything in the sphere of agrarian reforms — everything that the peasants desire, of which they dream, and of which they truly stand in need in order

to emerge from the mire of semi-serfdom, from the gloom of oppression and servitude". (Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*).

We, too, will never forget that the international proletariat, both who have succeeded in liberating themselves and their nation, as well as those who are still fighting for their liberation, and all the people who are fighting against imperialism, are the allies of the coming Indonesian revolution. And that U.S. imperialism, the ring-leader of the world counter-revolution, despite the help rendered by the Khrushchovite modern revisionists, is facing an ignominious and inevitable defeat in Vietnam.

We know that the task in front of us is arduous, full of difficulties and danger, but the birth of the new consciousness and the return to the road of revolution, has given us unbreakable vitality and fighting power!

We cannot say how long will be the road we still have to traverse, but by returning to the road of revolution, the hope for victory is no longer a dream!

We also know that the road we are taking is not one that is strewn with flowers, but we are convinced that only by taking this road, red roses will be blooming, adorning the free and democratic new life.

Let us wholeheartedly dedicate our entire ability, meet the call of the coming task, to overthrow the rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution, the leaders of the internal counter-revolutionaries, in order to pave the way towards the New Indonesia which is free from the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

Smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution and their accomplices!

Long live the people of Indonesia!

Glory to the Party and the Motherland!

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC OF THE PKI

Central Java, August 17, 1966

BUILD THE PKI ALONG THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE TO LEAD THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN INDONESIA

(Self-Criticism of the
Political Bureau of the CC PKI,
September 1966)

Central Java, September 1966

THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PKI (COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA)
ISSUED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 46TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE
PARTY, IT WAS STATED AMONG OTHER THINGS
THAT "THE FACT THAT THE COUNTER-REVOLU-

TIONARY FORCES COULD, IN A BRIEF SPACE OF
TIME, STRIKE AT AND INFLICT ENORMOUS
DAMAGE ON THE PKI OBLIGES US, WHO CAN
STILL CONTINUE THIS REVOLUTIONARY STRUG-

GLE, TO CARRY OUT CRITICISM AND SELF-

CRITICISM, AS THE ONLY CORRECT WAY TO FIND
OUT OUR SHORTCOMINGS AND ERRORS IN THE
THEORETICAL, POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL
FIELDS, SO AS TO RECTIFY THEM SUBSE-
QUENTLY".

The disaster which has caused such
serious losses to the PKI and the rev-
olutionary movement of the Indonesian
people after the outbreak and the fail-
ure of the "September 30th Movement"

has lifted up the curtain which for a fairly long period has hidden the grave weaknesses of the PKI. The PKI leadership had committed adventurism, that is, by violating organizational principles they had easily involved themselves in the "September 30th Movement" that was not based on the high consciousness and conviction of the masses of the people. And therefore they had caused the isolation of the Party from the masses of the people. On the contrary, after the defeat of the "September 30th Movement" the Party leadership carried out a Right opportunist line, by entrusting the fate of the Party and the revolutionary movement to the policy of President Sukarno. These were the climax of the serious weaknesses and mistakes of the PKI in the ideological, political and organizational fields.

The Political Bureau is aware that it has the greatest responsibility with regard to the grave weaknesses and mistakes of the Party all this time. There-

fore, the Political Bureau is giving serious attention to and highly appreciates all criticisms from cadres and members of the Party in accordance with a Marxist-Leninist method, as well as honest criticisms from Party sympathizers that have been expressed in different ways. The Political Bureau is resolved to make self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, putting into practice the teaching of Lenin and the example of Comrade Musso in unfolding Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism. Lenin has taught us that "The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligation towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it — that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties,

that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses". (Italics by Lenin)¹

In August 1948, Comrade Musso set an example in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI on how to conduct criticism and self-criticism freely and in a Marxist-Leninist way, against the serious mistakes and weaknesses of the PKI in the years of the August Revolution of 1945. Thanks to the merciless criticism and self-criticism against the weaknesses and mistakes, a way out was found so as to re-establish the PKI as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class, restore the good tradition of the PKI in the period before and during World War II, and to enable the PKI to obtain the hegemony in the leadership of the revolution.²

The internal Party struggle which took place during the rebuilding of the PKI which suffered a heavy blow in the "Madiun Affair" and during the realization of "The New Road" (Resolu-

tion of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, August 1948), brought into being the new Political Bureau in 1951. The experience of the Party until the outbreak of the "September 30th Movement" in 1965 has shown, that the Political Bureau which was elected in 1951 and re-elected by the Central Committee of the 5th and the 6th National Congresses not only had failed in implementing the Great Correction of Comrade Musso, but had committed serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism. As a result, the PKI was unable to fulfil its historical mission as the vanguard of the working class and leader of the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people.

In view of the seriousness of the weaknesses and mistakes involving the whole Party, the Political Bureau considers it necessary to make a complete analysis to enable every Party member to make the most thorough study of them, in order to avoid the recurrence of the same weaknesses and mistakes in

the future. However, under the situation where the most vicious and cruel white terror is being unleashed by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution, it is not easy to make criticism and self-criticism as complete as possible. To meet the urgent necessity it is necessary to put forward the main problems in the ideological, political and organizational fields, to guide the study of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the current rectification movement.

With all modesty and sincerity the Political Bureau presents this self-criticism. The Political Bureau expects all Party members to take an active part in the discussions of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party leadership critically, and do their utmost to improve this self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI by drawing lessons from their respective experiences, collectively or individually. The Political Bureau expects all members to

take firm hold of the principle: "unity, criticism, unity" and "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and 'curing the sickness to save the patient', in order to achieve the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades".³ The Political Bureau is convinced that, by holding firmly to this correct principle, every Party member will take part in the movement to study and overcome these weaknesses and mistakes with the determination to rebuild the PKI along the Marxist-Leninist line, to strengthen communist unity and solidarity, to raise their ideological, political and organizational vigilance and to heighten the fighting spirit in order to win victory.

THE MAIN WEAKNESSES IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD

"The New Road" Resolution, in pointing out the main cause of the mistakes of principle made by the PKI in

the organizational and political fields during the period of the August Revolution states: "The Political Bureau considers that the errors of principle are mainly caused by the ideological weaknesses of the Party".

The serious weaknesses and mistakes of the Party in the period after 1951 certainly had as their source the weaknesses in the ideological field, too, especially within the Party leadership. These ideological weaknesses had as their source the petty-bourgeois class origin and the inadequate mastering of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin has taught us that **"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement"**, and that **"the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory"**.⁴ The experience of the Indonesian Communists fully confirms the truth of Lenin's teaching. The serious weaknesses and mistakes which had made the PKI unable to fulfil its tasks as the vanguard of the Indonesian

working class had been caused not only by the failure of the Party leadership to integrate revolutionary theories with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, but even by the adoption of the road which was divorced from the guidance of the most advanced theories. This experience shows that the PKI had not succeeded as yet in establishing a core of leadership that was composed of proletarian elements, which really has the most correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, systematic and not fragmentary, practical and not abstract understanding.

Our Party has ideological weaknesses with a long historical root, namely subjectivism. The social basis for subjective ideology is the petty-bourgeois class. Indonesia is a country of the petty bourgeoisie, where small-owners' enterprises, in particular individual farms, are found in great number. Our Party is surrounded by a large petty-bourgeois class, and many Party members have come from this class. Inevi-

tably, petty-bourgeois ideas and habits are brought into the Party. The petty-bourgeois method of thinking is subjective and one-sided in analysing problems. It proceeds neither from objective reality, nor from objective balance of forces among classes, but from subjective wishes, subjective feelings and subjective imagination. It is that subjectivism which is the ideological source of dogmatist or empiricist errors in the theoretical field, of Right or "Left" opportunism in the political field, and of liberalism or sectarianism in the organizational field that have occurred in our Party.

During the period of implementing "The New Road" Resolution, an internal struggle took place within our Party against subjectivism. But as it turned out, the struggle did not succeed in completely eradicating this ideology of subjectivism. This was shown by the experience of the 5th National Congress of the Party. During the Congress, sharp criticism was launched against

subjectivism which constituted an obstacle in the implementation of "The New Road" Resolution. But at the same time, the Congress committed the same mistake by adopting the Manifesto for General Election of the PKI which put forward the programme for the establishment of people's democracy through the general election. This was a simultaneous manifestation of "Left" and Right opportunism. Viewed as a programme that went too far and could not be achieved on the basis of the existing objective conditions, it was a "Leftist" error. But viewed from its way of thinking that a people's democracy could be achieved through the general election, thus by peaceful means, it was a Rightist error.

During the period after 1951, subjectivism continued to grow, gradually became greater and greater and gave rise to Right opportunism that merged with the influence of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. This was the black line of

Right opportunism which became the main feature of the mistake committed by the PKI in this period. The rise and the development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors:

First, the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party, especially within the Party leadership. One example was the replacement of the Manifesto for General Election of the PKI. After it was discovered that the Manifesto was erroneous, it was then withdrawn and replaced by another programme, the Programme for a Government of National Coalition. But this measure was not accompanied by an extensive and profound criticism and self-criticism concerning the ideological source of the mistake, in order to protect "the prestige of the leadership". Consequently, the substitution of the Manifesto for General Election by the Programme for a Government of National Coalition had failed in thoroughly

eradicating the opportunist stand towards the general election in the framework of bourgeois democracy. We will deal more with this problem later.

The rectification and study movements which from time to time were organized in the Party were not carried out seriously and persistently enough, their results were not summed up in a sufficiently good manner, and they were not followed by the appropriate measures in the organizational field. Such movements were organized more for the rank-and-file, and never aimed at unfolding criticism and self-criticism among the leadership. Criticism from below, far from being carefully listened to, was even suppressed.

The failure to promote the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way in the Party, especially within the Party leadership on the one hand, and the weaknesses in the theoretical field of Party cadres in general on the other hand, had blunted the critical sense and the ideological

vigilance of Party cadres in general, and of leading cadres in particular.

Second, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology along two channels, namely through contacts with the national bourgeoisie when the Party established a united front with them, and through the bourgeoisification of Party cadres, especially the leadership, after obtaining certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. The increasing number of Party cadres who occupied certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions, in the centre and in the regions, created **"this stratum of bourgeoisified workers"** and this constituted **"real channels of reformism"**.⁵ Such a situation did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

Third, modern revisionism began to penetrate into our Party when the 4th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the 5th Congress uncritically approved a Report which confirmed the lines of the 20th Congress of the CPSU,

and adopted the line of "achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means" as the line of the PKI. The "peaceful road", one of the characteristics of modern revisionism, was further reaffirmed in the 6th National Congress of the PKI by stipulating the following passage in the Party Constitution: "It is a possibility that a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in a parliamentary way. The PKI persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality". This revisionist line was even further emphasized in the 7th National Congress of the PKI and was never corrected, although at that time our Party was already aware that since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the leadership of the CPSU had been following the road of modern revisionism.

In facing the modern revisionism of the CPSU leadership, the PKI leadership who had been tightly bound by the alliance with the national bourgeoisie

did not take a firm stand. Such an attitude was taken mainly starting from the need to protect the interests of its alliance with the national bourgeoisie and not from the independent interests of the proletariat. Though in later years the PKI leadership criticized the various modern revisionist lines of the CPSU leadership and, thanks to this stand, the PKI earned a respectable position in the ranks of the world Marxist-Leninists, they nevertheless continued to maintain good relations with the leadership of the CPSU and the influence of modern revisionism in our Party was not completely eradicated.

The experience of the PKI provides us with the lesson that by taking the stand of criticizing the modern revisionism of the CPSU leadership, it does not mean that the PKI itself has been automatically freed from errors of Right opportunism, the same as what the modern revisionists are doing. The experience of the PKI provides us with

the lesson that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, is also the greatest danger for the PKI. Modern revisionism is not "a latent but not an acute danger",⁶ but a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the PKI and serious losses for the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, the danger of modern revisionism must not in any way be underestimated and a ruthless struggle must be waged against it. The firm stand against modern revisionism in all fields can be effectively maintained only when our Party abandons the line of "preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists".

It is a fact that the PKI, while on the one hand criticizing the modern revisionism of the CPSU leadership, on the other hand made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the PKI leadership not only did not wage

a struggle in the theoretical field against other trends of revolutionary thought which could mislead the proletariat, as Lenin has taught us to do,⁷ but had even voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The PKI leadership equated the three components of Marxism: materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the "three components of Bung Karno's teaching",* and wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class.

THE MAIN ERRORS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

The mistakes of Right opportunism in the political field which are now under

* Bung Karno, the name by which President Sukarno was popularly called, meaning Brother Karno.

review include three problems: (1) the road to People's Democracy in Indonesia, (2) the question of state power, and (3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

Right opportunism in the political field reveals itself first and foremost in the question of the road to be taken, the "peaceful road" or the road of revolution, to achieve People's Democracy in Indonesia as a transitional stage to the socialist system. One of the fundamental differences and disputes between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, both classic and modern, lies precisely in the question of the road to socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism should be achieved through the road of proletarian revolution and that in the case of colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like Indonesia, socialism should be achieved by first completing the stage of the people's democratic revolution. While revisionism dreams of achieving socialism through the "peaceful road".

Along which process had these mistakes emerged and developed?

For fifteen years since 1951, the PKI had conducted a legal and parliamentary struggle. Legal and parliamentary form of struggle is a method that must be used by a revolutionary proletarian party in a definite situation and under certain conditions, as Lenin explained in his work *"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*. Refusing parliamentary struggle when it is needed, and to play with revolution when the conditions are not yet ripe, is a mistake.

The parliamentary struggle as a form of legal struggle carried out by the Party in 1951 was in the main correct, and in accordance with the objective conditions existing at that time. The objective conditions at that time were as follows: the revolutionary tide was at low ebb, the motive forces of the revolution were not re-awakened as yet, and the great majority of the people who had never enjoyed political independence before the August Revolution

still cherished hopes in the bourgeois democracy.

During the initial years of this period, our Party had achieved certain results in the political struggle as well as in the building of the Party. One important achievement of this period was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. It was formulated that the present stage of the Indonesian revolution was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose tasks were to liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The motive forces of the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; the leading force of the revolution was the working class and the main mass strength of the revolution was the peasantry. It was also formulated that the national bourgeoisie was a wavering force of the revolution who might side with the revolution to certain limits and at cer-

tain periods, but who, at other times, might betray the revolution. The Party furthermore formulated that the working class, in order to fulfil its obligation as the leader of the Indonesian revolution, must forge a revolutionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

However, a very important shortcoming which in later days developed into Right opportunism or revisionism, was that the Party had not yet come to the clearest unity of minds on the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution. The Central Committee of the Party had once discussed this problem in broad lines, but in the subsequent period had never discussed this problem intensively so as to reach the most correct uniform understanding, as a prerequisite to reach the most correct uniform understanding in the whole Party.

It is a great mistake for a party with a historical mission to lead a revolution like the PKI, not to make the question of the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution a problem which concerned the whole Party, but rather a problem which concerned a few persons among the leadership and certain cadres in the Party. Consequently, the minds of the majority in the Party were made passive with regard to this most important problem of the revolution.

Though the leadership of the Indonesian revolution is the working class, its principal mass strength is the peasantry. In view of the small number of the working class in Indonesia, the method of struggle of the working class, such as general strikes which lead the awakening of other motive forces of the revolution and which will later develop into an armed insurrection, as in the case of the Russian bourgeois democratic revolution of 1905,⁸ cannot

become the main form of struggle or the method of the Indonesian revolution.

The Chinese revolution has provided the lesson concerning the main form of struggle of the revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. In line with the essence of the revolution as an agrarian revolution, then the essence of the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants in an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class. The practice of the Chinese revolution is first and foremost the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China. At the same time, it has laid down the general law for the revolutions of the peoples in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this

main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

The agrarian revolution which is the essence of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage is not an agrarian reform of the bourgeois fashion that will only pave the way for the development of capitalism in the countryside. This revolution will liberate farm labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants from the feudal oppression by foreign and native landlords, by confiscating the lands of the landlords and distributing them without payment to farm labourers and poor peasants individually to be their private property. Such a revolution will be victorious only when it is carried out by force of arms under the leadership of the working class. This revolution cannot be imposed from without. It will break out on the basis of the high conscious-

ness and conviction of the peasants themselves obtained through their own experience in the struggle and through the education by the working class.

It is clear that in a situation where the conditions for a revolution have not existed as yet, the tasks of the PKI should be directed at educating Party members, the working class and the peasantry concerning the main forms of struggle of the Indonesian revolution, through political, agitation and propaganda work, as well as through organizational work. All forms of legal and parliamentary work should serve the principal means and the main form of struggle, and must not in any way impede the process of the ripening of armed struggle.

The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from not firmly refuting the "peaceful road" and not firmly holding to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the PKI gradually got bogged down in par-

liamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered these forms of struggle to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution. The legality of the Party was not considered as one method of struggle at a given time and under certain conditions, but was rather regarded as a principle, while other forms of struggle should serve this principle. Even when counter-revolution not only has trampled underfoot the legality of the Party, but has violated the basic human rights of the Communists as well, this "legality" was still to be defended with might and main.

As has been stated before, the "peaceful road" began to be firmly established in the Party when the 4th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PKI (1956) adopted a document which approved the modern revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In a situation when the revisionist line was already firmly

established in the Party, it was impossible to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line of strategy and tactics. The formulation of the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Party started from an ambiguity between the "peaceful road" and the "road of armed revolution", in which process of development the "peaceful road" finally became dominant.

It was under such conditions that the General Line of the PKI was formulated by the 6th National Congress (1959), which read "To continue the forging of the national united front, and to continue the building of the Party, so as to accomplish the demands of the August Revolution of 1945". Based on the General Line of the Party, the slogan "Raise the Three Banners of the Party" was adopted. These were: (1) the banner of the national front, (2) the banner of the building of the Party, and (3) the banner of the 1945 August Revolution.⁹ The General Line was

meant as the road to people's democracy in Indonesia.

The Party leadership tried to explain that the Three Banners of the Party were the three main weapons to win the people's democratic revolution which, as Comrade Mao Tsetung has said, were "a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party".¹⁰

Thus, the second main weapon means a people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution under the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership tried to replace this with the slogan "Raise the Banner of the 1945 August Revolution". It was indeed explained that "The Banner of the August Revolution firmly establishes the importance of using the experiences of the struggle

during the August Revolution of 1945", and that "In defending the sovereignty of Indonesia, the role of the guerrilla warfare is of the utmost importance",¹¹ yet in practice no effort was made in this direction.

In order to prove that the road followed was not the opportunist "peaceful road", the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, namely, the possibility of a "peaceful road" and the possibility of a non-peaceful road, and that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater would be the possibility of a "peaceful road". In fact, such statements show precisely the existence of dualism concerning the road followed by the Party leadership. By doing so, the hope for a "peaceful road" which in reality did not exist was always implanted in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people.

In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof was the gravest tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the failure of the "September 30th Movement". Within a short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralysing the organization of the PKI and the revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation surely would never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road.

The Party leadership declared that "our Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle from abroad, but must carry out the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle,¹² namely guerrilla warfare in the countryside (especially by farm labourers and

poor peasants); revolutionary actions by the workers (especially transport workers) in the cities; and intensive work among the enemies' armed forces". The Party leadership criticized some comrades who, in studying the experience of the armed struggle of the Chinese people, were considered as seeing only its similarities with the conditions in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Party leadership put forward different conditions that must be taken into account, until they arrived at the conclusion that the method typical to the Indonesian revolution was the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle".

Adopting dogmatically the experience of other countries is a mistake. But refusing to use another country's experience whose truth as the theory of people's revolution has already been tested is equally a mistake. Lenin has taught us that "a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it treats the experience

of other countries critically and tests it independently".¹³

Facts have shown that the "theory of the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle" was not the result of treating the experience of another country critically and linking it with the concrete practice of Indonesia, to become one of the revolutionary theories typical to Indonesia. In any case, it is not a method typical to Indonesia. The Russian revolution of 1905 as Lenin explained in his "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", was a combination of strikes by the workers, anti-feudal struggle by the peasantry in the countryside and mutinies by the army, with the strikes by the workers as the vanguard. The Chinese revolution also combined the revolutionary agrarian war, the work in the countryside and the cities under enemy occupation and the work among the enemy's armed forces, with the revolutionary agrarian war as the main form.

Of the "three forms of struggle" that should be combined, instead of being led along the road of revolution, each was led along the "peaceful road". The struggle of the peasants against the exploitation and suppression by the vestiges of feudalism, if given correct leadership, would inevitably develop into its highest form, namely, the agrarian revolution to liberate the peasants from the oppression by the landlords. This struggle would only gain its complete victory if it had been waged by arms under the leadership of the PKI. But the Party leadership did not concentrate its leading work on the development of the ever-growing peasant struggle, and did not prepare the Party to face any eventuality.

When the peasants began to rise in direct unilateral actions against the native landlords, these actions were not developed into their higher form, but were diverted along different lines by launching various actions that were not directed against the landlords, such

as the New Culture Movement, the One Thousand and One Campaign to raise production, and the Rat Extermination Campaign. Naturally, it is not wrong for a revolutionary peasant movement to launch campaigns to increase production, to exterminate pests and to raise the cultural level of the peasants. But all of this should serve the main objective of the revolutionary peasant movement, namely, the anti-feudal agrarian revolution. Therefore, such campaigns should not be evaluated far too highly, so as to divert the orientation of the revolutionary peasant movement to become a reformist movement.

In the cities, despite the increasingly heavy burden in the life of the workers, actions by the workers that had political significance gradually diminished, because they lacked proper leadership. It is true that there were apparently big actions by the workers that had great political significance, such as the take-over of the enterprises belonging to the Dutch, British and Belgian

imperialists. But the actual results of these actions were beneficial only for a handful of bureaucrat-capitalists and had by no means improved the living conditions of the workers concerned. Besides, since the Party leadership considered the former imperialist-owned enterprises which were controlled by the government of the Republic of Indonesia as national property, further actions by the workers were restrained. On the contrary, a lot of activities were organized directly by the trade unions or through the Enterprise Councils aimed at increasing production, raising the efficiency of the enterprises, improving the economy, etc. which did not improve the living conditions nor heighten the revolutionary spirit of the workers.

Proceeding from the erroneous standpoint that "the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia are not reactionary armed forces",¹⁴ the problem of "working within the enemy's armed forces" was interpreted as "integrating

the important organ of the State with the people", or "strengthening the dwitunggal* relationship between the people and the Armed Forces". It means integrating the instrument of violence of the oppressing classes with the oppressed classes. Such an error could occur because the Party leadership had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state, and considered the Indonesian Republic not as a bourgeois state and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia not as an instrument of the bourgeois state. The Party leadership forgot the reality that since the August Revolution had failed and the state power had fallen entirely into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, though brought into being by the August Revolution, had as a whole automatically become the organ of rule

*Dwitunggal, literally means oneness of the two.

in the hands of the classes which ruled the state. In view of their class origin as sons of workers and peasants, the NCO's* and soldiers of the Armed Forces might indeed constitute elements who would take the side of the people. But this could not alter the position of the Armed Forces as a whole as an organ of the state which served the interests of the ruling class.

To fulfil their heavy but great and noble historical mission, to lead the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must firmly abandon the revisionist "peaceful road", abandon the "theory of the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle", and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the glorious Chinese people's revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas; they must "turn the

* Non-commissioned officers.

backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution".¹⁵

While tackling this most principal question we must also carry out other forms of struggle; armed struggle will never advance without being coordinated with other forms of struggle.

* * *

The line of Right opportunism followed by the Party leadership was also reflected in their attitude with regard to the state, in particular to the state of the Republic of Indonesia. Marxism-Leninism has taught us that "the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another"; that "the forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same . . . the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie"; and that "the supersession of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state" (in Indonesia through

the people's democratic state — Political Bureau), **"is impossible without a violent revolution"**.¹⁶

Based on this Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state, the task of the PKI after the August Revolution of 1945 failed, should have been the education of the Indonesian working class and the rest of the working people, so as to make them understand clearly the class nature of the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a bourgeois dictatorship. The PKI should have aroused the consciousness of the working class and the other working people that their struggle for liberation would inevitably lead to the necessity of "superseding the bourgeois state" by the people's state under the leadership of the working class, through a "violent revolution". But the PKI leadership took the opportunist line that gave rise to the illusion among the people about bourgeois democracy. The development of this opportunist line with regard to the state is as follows:

In implementing the tactics of drawing the national bourgeoisie back to the national united front, the PKI supported the Wilopo Administration (beginning of 1952) and other administrations of the Republic of Indonesia that followed — with the exception of the Burhanuddin Harahap Administration that was led by the Masjumi Party — which had relatively progressive programmes. By this policy, the PKI was able to draw the national bourgeoisie in a united front and to prevent the formation of reactionary administrations. But subsequently, the PKI followed practices which abandoned its position as a proletarian party which takes an independent attitude towards a bourgeois government. The PKI failed in totally discharging its task to expose the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy. Worse still, the PKI, instead of using the general election and parliamentary struggle to accelerate the obsolescence of parliamentarism politically, had even

strengthened the system of parliamentarism.

The PKI took part in the first parliamentary general election with a programme for the establishment of a Government of National Coalition, namely, a united front government of democratic elements, including the Communists. With its programme for the general election, the PKI had committed the same error as the petty-bourgeois democrats and opportunists who, according to Lenin, **"instil into the minds of the people the false notion that universal suffrage 'in the modern state' (read: in the bourgeois state — Political Bureau) is really capable of ascertaining the will of the majority of the toilers and of securing its realization"**.¹⁷

The demands for the establishment of a Government of National Coalition became the tactical programme of the PKI, which subsequently assumed the form of the demands for the establishment of a Cooperation Cabinet with the Nasa-

kom* as the core. By making the establishment of a Government of National Coalition the principal political demand, the illusion was spread that under the rule of bourgeois dictatorship, where the armed forces under the leadership of the Party did not exist, it would be possible to set up a united front government of democratic elements, including the Communists, in accordance with the people's sense of justice, that would facilitate the accomplishment of the strategic aims. The campaign to demand the establishment of a Cooperation Cabinet with the Nasakom as the core had relegated to the background the propaganda for a people's democratic state, and in that way hampered the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the work-

*Nasakom: the acronym of *Nasionalis, Agama, Komunis*. President Sukarno's idea of the unity of the three major groupings in Indonesia: the nationalists, the religious believers and the Communists.

ing class and the rest of the working people.

The climax of the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state committed by the Party leadership was the formulation of the "theory of two aspects in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia". Since the birth of the "two aspects theory", only when discussing the state in general terms were Marxist-Leninist doctrines loosely maintained. But in the discussions about the state in a concrete sense, that is to say about the state of the Republic of Indonesia, Marxist-Leninist doctrines were completely abandoned.

The "two aspects theory" viewed the state and the state power in the following way:

"The economic structure (basis) of the present Indonesian society is still colonial and semi-feudal. However, at the same time there is the struggle of the people against this economic system, the struggle for a national and democratic economy; . . .

"The realities of the basis are also reflected in the superstructure, including in the state power, and especially in the cabinet. In the state power are reflected both the forces that are against the colonial and feudal economic system, and the forces that defend imperialism, the vestiges of feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and the compradores. . . .

"The state power of the Republic of Indonesia, viewed as a contradiction is a contradiction between two mutually opposing aspects. The first aspect is the aspect which represents the interests of the people (manifested by the progressive stand and policies of President Sukarno that are supported by the PKI and other groups of the people). The second aspect is the aspect that represents the enemies of the people (manifested by the stand and policies of the Right-wing forces or the diehards). The people aspect has become the main aspect and takes the leading role in the

state power of the Republic of Indonesia".¹⁸

The "two aspects theory" obviously is an opportunist or revisionist deviation, because it denies the Marxist-Leninist teaching that **"the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it)"**.¹⁹ It is unthinkable that the Republic of Indonesia can be jointly ruled by the people and the enemies of the people.

It is true that in Indonesian society there are forces fighting against the colonial and semi-feudal economic system. These forces are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and, to a certain extent, also the national bourgeoisie. But to consider that these forces have a common concept for a "national and democratic economy" is erroneous. There are two different concepts, the concept of the national bourgeoisie and the concept of the proletariat. Whether it is wrapped in whatever names like "national and

democratic economy", "guided economy", etc. this concept of the national bourgeoisie has no other demand but the full development of capitalism in the country.

The concept of the proletariat is to create a people's democratic economy, which means: the nationalization of all capital and enterprises belonging to the imperialists, compradores and other reactionaries, and the free distribution of lands belonging to the landlords to the peasants. This will be the transitional economic system to socialism that can be realized only after the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the joint power of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the proletariat. In the people's democratic economy, the socialist sector, namely the vital enterprises owned by the people's state, takes a leading position in all the economic life of the country.

Prior to the establishment of a people's democratic power, the struggle of

the people in the economic field will never possibly give birth to a people's democratic economic structure. The take-over of imperialist-owned enterprises and the existence of old-type state-owned enterprises under the control of the Republic of Indonesia did not give birth to the socialist sector in economy, because these state-owned enterprises did not belong to the people and were not managed by the people's state, but had fallen in the hands of the bureaucrat-capitalists. Similarly, the Basic Agrarian Law could by no means liberate the peasantry from the oppression and exploitation by the vestiges of feudalism.

Denying the differences between the concept of the national bourgeoisie and the concept of the proletariat, and lumping them together in the formulation of "national and democratic economy", without raising the problem of the necessity to establish the people's democratic power first, were tantamount to abandoning the proletarian

class stand and capitulating to the bourgeoisie. Obviously, the birth of economic concepts like the "Economic Declaration" did not mean that the forces of the working class and the rest of the working people who fought against the colonial and semi-colonial economy were already reflected in the state power. People's democratic factors will never grow in a state power which represents the interests of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. Contradiction did exist in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia, namely, the contradiction between the compradore and landlord elements who represented the interests of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie who, to a certain extent, took an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stand, on the other. But the position of the national bourgeoisie in the state power could not be interpreted as representing the interests of the people, and that is why it could not be called the "people aspect"

in the state power. Such contradiction would never lead to the fundamental transformation of the class nature of the state.

The participations of the Party leaders in the government, both in the central and in the regional administrations, could not be interpreted that the quality of the aspect of the national bourgeoisie in the state power had changed into a people aspect. Because the joint forces of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat was led not by the proletariat but by the national bourgeoisie. The position of the Party leaders in the government that give them no real power was a political concession from the national bourgeoisie who needed the support of the people in their contradiction with the compradore bourgeoisie and, to a certain extent, also with the imperialists.

With the support of the masses of the people who were led by the PKI, the national bourgeoisie could, to a certain extent, undermine the position of the

compradore bourgeoisie in the state power. The situation was shown by a series of policies adopted by the government of the Republic of Indonesia such as the abrogation of the Round Table Conference Agreement, the liberation of West Irian, the enactment of the Basic Agrarian Law and the Law of Crop-Sharing, the liquidation of the armed forces of the counter-revolutionaries including the DI/TII and the PRRI/Permesta, the acceptance of the Political Manifesto, the Economic Declaration, the anti-imperialist foreign policy, etc.

The Party leadership who had got bogged down into the mire of opportunism overestimated too highly these developments and claimed that the "people aspect" had become the main aspect and taken the leading role in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia. It was as if the Indonesian people were nearing the birth of a people's power. And since they considered that the forces of the national bour-

geoisie in the state power were really the "people aspect", the Party leadership had done everything to defend and develop this "people aspect". The Party leadership had altogether merged themselves in the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

It is clear that the Party leadership applied in a subjective way the theory of contradiction to the state power. Furthermore, to consider that the forces of the national bourgeoisie were the "people aspect" in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia with President Sukarno as the leader of this aspect, means to regard that the national bourgeois were able to lead the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution. This is contrary to historical necessity and historical facts.

The PKI leadership declared that the "two-aspect theory" was completely different from the "theory of structural reform"²⁰ of the revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party. However, both theoretically and on the basis of

practical realities, there is no difference between the two "theories". Both have, for their starting point, the peaceful road to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces, and in the state structure. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist.

The anti-revolutionary "two-aspect theory" glaringly manifested itself in the statement that "the struggle of the PKI with regard to the state power is to promote the pro-people aspect so as to make it bigger and dominant, and the anti-people force can be driven out from the state power".²¹

The Party leadership even called this anti-revolutionary road the road of "revolution from above and below". "From above" means that the PKI must encourage the state power to take revolutionary steps aimed at making changes in the personnel and in the state apparatus. While "from below" means that the PKI must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to

achieve the same changes.²² It is indeed an extraordinary phantasy! The Party leadership did not learn from the fact that the concept of President Sukarno on the formation of a Cooperation Cabinet (the old-type Government of National Coalition), eight years after its announcement, had not been realized as yet, and there was even no sign that it would ever be realized, despite the insistent demands. Let alone a change in the state power!

It is true that Lenin once showed that there was the possibility of **"action from above"**, that is to say when there was the possibility to take part in the provisional revolutionary government on the eve of the Russian Revolution of 1905. It was then a period of political upheavals in which a revolution had begun.²³ If there was no possibility to act from above, according to Lenin, a pressure must be exercised from below, and for this purpose the proletariat must be armed.

It is clear, how great was the difference between the situation and the conditions put forward by Lenin on the possibility of **"action from above"** as well as the conditions of **"action from below"**, and the situation as well as the conditions in Indonesia for a **"revolution from above and below"**. The first was put forward in a revolutionary situation, while the latter in a relatively peaceful condition. Furthermore, the latter was also put forward in an opportunist way.

The **"two-aspect theory"** is similar to Kautsky's distortion of Marxist doctrines on the state. Kautsky theoretically did not deny that the state is an organ of class rule. What he lost sight of and glossed over was that **"the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class. . . ."**²⁴

To clean itself from the mire of opportunism, our Party must discard this

"theory of two aspects in the state power" and re-establish the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state and revolution.

One of the serious mistakes corrected in *"The New Road"* was the neglect of the PKI in fostering the national united front during the August Revolution of 1945. The Communists neglected the establishment of the national united front as a weapon in the national revolution against imperialism.²⁵

In the period after 1951, the question of establishing the national united front was decided as one of the most urgent tasks of the Party. The 5th National Congress of the PKI even decided that the building of a national united front constituted the second urgent task of the Party. This line was consistently maintained in the 6th National Congress of the Party and thereafter. The

national united front was put in the primary place in the "General Line" of the Party or as the first banner of the Three Banners of the Party. This shows how the Party leadership evaluated the national united front. From "neglecting" it in the second half of the forties, the Party leadership switched into regarding the national united front as the number one question.

The 5th National Congress of the Party in the main had solved theoretically the problem of the national united front. It was formulated that the worker-peasant alliance was the basis of the united front. With regard to the national bourgeoisie a lesson had been drawn on the basis of the experience during the August Revolution that this class had a wavering character. In a certain situation, the national bourgeoisie took part in and sided with the revolution, while in another situation they joined the compradore bourgeoisie to attack the motive forces of the revolution and betrayed the revolution (as

shown by their stand towards the Madiun Provocation and the Round Table Conference Agreement). Based on this wavering character of the national bourgeoisie, the stand that must be taken by the PKI was formulated, namely, to make continuous efforts to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution, while guarding against the possibility of its betraying the revolution. The PKI must follow the policy of unity and struggle towards the national bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, since the ideological weakness of subjectivism in the Party, particularly among the Party leadership, had not yet been eradicated, our Party was dragged into more and more serious mistakes, so that ultimately the Party lost its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. This mistake had resulted in the Party and the proletariat being placed as the appendage of the national bourgeoisie.

The process along which the mistakes in carrying out the national united front

had developed can be briefly traced as follows:

Simultaneously with the work to rebuild the Party in 1951, efforts were made to win back the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the people. By utilizing the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie, the Party succeeded in winning the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the people. This was started during the struggle against the August Razzia launched by the Sukiman Administration and for the overthrow of this administration, which was successful with the formation of the Wilopo Cabinet. At that time and in the following years the Party was still weak and the alliance of the workers and peasants was not established as yet. So the united front with the national bourgeoisie was formed and developed not upon strong foundations, namely, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

The Party leadership appraised the establishment of the united front with the national bourgeoisie as opening up possibilities for the development and the building of the Party and for the realization of the immediate task of the Party, namely, the formation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry against feudalism.²⁶ It was from this appraisal that the conclusion was made that the fostering of the national united front was the first urgent task of the PKI. It was implied in this conclusion that by the national united front the Party leadership meant, first and foremost, the united front with the national bourgeoisie.

In a situation in which a strong alliance of the working class and the peasantry was not yet formed, the united front with the national bourgeoisie could be maintained for two reasons. **Firstly**, because the national bourgeoisie in their contradiction with the compradore bourgeoisie, needed the support of the working class. **Secondly**, because

the Party gave the needed support without arousing the apprehension of the national bourgeoisie that their position was threatened.

The formation of the united front with the national bourgeoisie resulted in the formation of those administrations which, to a certain extent, pursued an anti-imperialist policy and gave a little freedom of action to the PKI and the revolutionary mass organizations. This situation was indeed rather favourable to the work of expanding the Party, especially in the countryside, in order to establish the worker-peasant alliance. Furthermore, the political precondition for the forging of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry already existed in the form of the revolutionary agrarian programme.

However, in the course of the cooperation with the national bourgeoisie, the ideological weaknesses in the Party, in particular among the Party leadership, had grown and were influenced by the bourgeois ideology through that co-

operation. The growth of the ideological weaknesses in the Party had made the Party gradually lose its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. The Party gave too many concessions to the national bourgeoisie, so that it lost its independent role of leadership.

One of the manifestations of this loss of independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was the evaluation and the stand of the Party leadership towards Bung Karno. The Party leadership did not adopt an independent attitude towards Bung Karno, and had always avoided conflicts with Bung Karno; on the contrary, it had greatly overemphasized the similarities or the unity between the Party and Bung Karno. The public saw that there was no policy of Bung Karno that was not supported by the PKI. The Party leadership went so far as to accept without any struggle the recognition of Bung Karno as the Great Leader of the Revolution and the leader of the

"people aspect" in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia. In the articles and speeches of the Party leaders, it was frequently said that the struggle of the PKI was based not only on Marxism-Leninism, but also on "the teachings of Bung Karno", that the PKI made rapid progress because it realized Bung Karno's idea of Nasakom unity. Even the people's democratic system in Indonesia was said to be in conformity with Bung Karno's main ideas as expressed in his speech *The Birth of Pantja Sila** (June 1st, 1945).²⁷ Thus the Party leadership did not educate the working class and the rest of the working people on the necessity to place the leadership of the revolution in the hands of the proletariat and their Party, namely, the PKI.

* Pantja Sila, five Principles enunciated by Sukarno in 1945: Belief in God, Nationalism, Humanism, Social Justice, People's Sovereignty. Proclaimed as the ideological basis of the bourgeois state of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Party leadership boasted that the birth of the Political Manifesto meant that the persistent struggle of the Indonesian people led by the PKI had successfully brought the broad masses to recognize the correctness of the PKI's programme. And therefore, to implement the Political Manifesto in a consistent manner is the same as implementing the programme of the PKI.²⁸

The achieving of a common programme for the united front is indeed a good thing, and in this sense, the birth of the Political Manifesto, too, was a good thing, because to a certain extent it united the minds of the various anti-imperialist classes and groups, with regard to certain parts of the problems of the Indonesian revolution. However, it is not true that the birth of the Political Manifesto and its further elaboration meant the recognition by the broad masses of the correctness of the PKI's programme. Because, only certain parts of the Party programme were in common with the Political Manifesto.

The Communists must not be naive and consider that other classes who do not belong to the motive forces of the revolution can easily accept the programme of the PKI. They accepted those parts of the Party's tactical programme which indeed might conform to their own interests. While those parts which were contrary to their interests, such as on the leading role of the working class, on the revolutionary agrarian programme, etc. were rejected by them. Even for those parts which they accepted, there was no guarantee that they would be implemented. Meanwhile, the reactionaries who still assumed a dominating position in the state power accepted hypocritically the Political Manifesto, to adjust themselves to the prevailing mainstream. Therefore, no matter how consistently the Political Manifesto would be implemented, it could never be the same as the programme of the PKI. Consequently, saying that consistently implementing the Political Manifesto was the

same as implementing the programme of the PKI meant that it was not the programme of the PKI which was accepted by the bourgeoisie, but rather, it was the programme of the national bourgeoisie which was accepted by the PKI, and was made to replace the programme of the PKI.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie had developed even further with the inclusion in the Party document of the so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" that was formulated as follows: "With the national united front having the workers and the peasants as its pillars, the Nasakom as the core and the Pantja Sila as its ideological basis, to complete the national democratic revolution leading towards Indonesian socialism".²⁹ This so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" did not have even the faintest smell of revolution. Because, from the three preconditions to win the revolution, namely, a strong Marxist-Leninist

party, a people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party, and a national united front, only the national united front was retained. Even then, it was not a revolutionary united front, because it was not led by the working class, nor was it based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, but it was based on the Nasakom. It was said that without the Nasakom as the core, the national united front would be like a wheel without an axis which certainly would not be able to revolve.³⁰

The Party leadership said that "the slogan for the national cooperation with the Nasakom as the core will by no means obscure the class content of the national united front".³¹ This statement is incorrect, because apart from the working-class party, other political parties mainly represented the national bourgeoisie, the compradores, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. Since the compradore parties like the

Masjumi and the PSI* had been banned, the compradores and landlords were worming their way into other political parties and organizations of the nationalist or religious trends. Thus, the class content of the Nasakom was the working class, the national bourgeoisie, and even elements of the compradores, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. Obviously, making the Nasakom as the core not only had obscured the class content of the national united front, but radically changed the meaning of the revolutionary united front into an alliance of the working class with all other classes, including the reactionary classes, or into class collaboration.

This error must be corrected. The Party must discard the erroneous "General Line of the Indonesian Rev-

* PSI (Partai Sosialis Indonesia): an intensely anti-communist party of the Right-wing socialists. Its leaders are compradores of both British and U.S. imperialism. Took an active part in the rebellion of the PRRI/Permesta in 1958.

olution" and return to the correct conception of a revolutionary united front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was also because the Party did not make a correct and concrete analysis of the concrete situation. In the article "The Indonesian Society and the Indonesian Revolution" (adopted by the 5th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the PKI in July 1957, as a textbook used in Party schools), it was said that overthrowing imperialism was the primary of the two urgent tasks, namely, the overthrow of imperialism and the liquidation of the vestiges of feudalism. This line was also found in different variations in other documents of the Party, such as that "the spearhead today must be directed at the principal enemy, namely, imperialism"³² and that, "the main contradiction in Indonesia today is the contradiction between the In-

donesian people on the one hand, and the imperialists on the other hand."³³

From such erroneous views on the concrete situation came the slogan of "placing class interest under national interest",³⁴ which was dogmatically copied from the correct slogan of the Chinese Communist Party during the mobilization of resistance against the aggression by the Japanese imperialists.

This error rendered it impossible for the Party to build a strong and consolidated alliance of the workers and peasants, despite the widespread influence of the Party in the rural areas. Because, under the erroneous slogan of "overthrowing imperialism is the primary task", all contradictions among the classes within the country, including the contradictions between the landlords and the peasants, must be subordinated to the "main contradiction between the Indonesian people and the imperialists".

Ever since the failure of the August Revolution of 1945, except in West

Irian, the imperialists did not hold direct political power in Indonesia. In Indonesia, political power was in the hands of compradores and landlords who represented the interests of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. Besides, there was no imperialist aggression in Indonesia taking place. Under such a situation, provided that the PKI did not make political mistakes, the contradictions between the ruling reactionary classes and the people would develop and sharpen, constituting the main contradiction in Indonesia. The primary task of the Indonesian revolution is the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary classes within the country who also represent the interests of the imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists. Only by fulfilling this task can the real liquidation of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism be realized.

By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie is not meant that

now it is not necessary for the Party to unite with this class. So long as the economic structure of Indonesia is still colonial and semi-colonial in nature there will always be a stratum of the bourgeois class who suffers from the oppression by imperialism and the bonds of the vestiges of feudalism. This stratum of the bourgeois class is the national bourgeoisie who are, to a certain extent, against imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, the Party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution.

* * *

Those were the main mistakes of Right opportunism in the political sphere committed by the PKI which had developed into revisionism and reached their climax on the eve of the "Septem-

ber 30th Affair". When the deviation to the Right had become overall and complete, another tendency that was the opposite emerged, namely a "Leftist" tendency. This "Leftist" tendency manifested itself in the overestimation of the strength of the Party, the working class and the rest of the working people, the exaggeration of the results of the people's struggle and the underestimation of the strength of the reactionaries.

The political situation in the country at that time indeed began to reveal the existence of tensions. Political victories crowned the actions launched by the people, including the boycott of American films, the expulsion of the U.S. "Peace Corps", the actions against the American Motion Picture Association in Indonesia and against its director, Bill Palmer, the banning of the reactionary Cultural Manifesto, the take-over of the British-owned enterprises, the dissolution of the so-called "Body for the Promotion of Sukarnoism" and the Murba

Party;* whereas the actions against U.S. aggression in Vietnam enjoyed ever broader support. In the various districts the peasants started unilateral actions to win their demands for the reduction of rents. Reacting to the victories of the people's struggle, the domestic reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists were also intensifying their activities, creating provocations against the workers and peasants, spreading forged documents, etc.

The *Thesis of the 45th Anniversary* of the PKI stated on the one hand that "the bureaucrat-capitalists not only are worsening the present economic condition in Indonesia, but are also trying to seize political power through a coup d'etat". On the other hand it stressed that "the growing resistance of the Indonesian people against imperialism, feudalism and the forces of counter-

* Murba Party: a minuscule reactionary party with Trotskyite tendencies.

revolution in the country shows that today an increasingly mounting and ripening revolutionary situation exists in our country".

According to Lenin, a revolutionary situation or a revolutionary period is a period **"when the old 'superstructure' has cracked from top to bottom, when open political action on the part of the classes and masses who are creating a new superstructure for themselves has become a fact. . . ."**³⁵ In comparison to what Lenin said, the political situation in Indonesia at that time, even with the take-over of the British-owned enterprises and the anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist demonstrations which took place in succession in the capital and other big cities, could not yet be said to have reached the stage of a revolutionary situation, let alone "an increasingly mounting and ripening revolutionary situation". The demands raised in the actions that reached their climax in the demonstrations were es-

mentally still in the framework of partial demands or reforms. Meanwhile, among the peasants, the main force of the Indonesian revolution, their actions had not yet reached the highest stage nor were widely spread. What were alleged as thousands of actions a day in the rural areas were delusive, because such activities as submitting written petitions, repairing irrigation ditches, etc. were counted in registering peasants' actions. Actions that were directly aimed against the native landlords were not many nor widespread.

The conclusion on the "ever ripening revolutionary situation" was nothing but the result of a method of thinking which regarded subjective wishes, feelings and imagination as reality. The Party leadership were afraid to see realities that differed from their subjective wishes. The Party leadership were displeased when the regional committees or other Party organizations reported the fact that the degree of the

development of the mass actions still fell short from the conclusion drawn.

As a result, to please the subjective wishes of the leadership, exaggerated assessments were made on the mass actions, in particular the peasants' actions.

The Party leadership attempted to develop further the "ever ripening revolutionary situation" to become a "revolution". This was put forward in the Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI on August 17, 1965. The Statement called on the Communists to work harder "in order to develop the present revolutionary situation further to its climax", so that the people "can achieve not only ever greater victories, but also fundamental victories". This was the climax of the other mistake, the "Leftist" mistake, which dragged the Party leadership into adventurism that has brought a great disaster to the Party and the revolutionary movement in general.

THE MAIN MISTAKES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD

The erroneous political line which dominated the Party was inevitably followed by an equally erroneous organizational line. The longer and the more intensively the wrong political line dominated in the Party, the greater were the mistakes in the organizational field, and the greater the losses caused by them. Right opportunism which constituted the wrong political line of the Party in the period after 1951 had been followed by an equally Right deviation in the organizational field, namely liberalism and legalism.

The line of liberalism in the organizational field manifested itself in the tendency to make the PKI a party with as large a membership as possible, a loose organization, which was called a mass party. The question of whether a Communist Party needs to have the largest possible membership (a mass party), or not too large a membership

so long as their quality is high (a cadre party) is a question for the Communist Parties in the various countries. In the beginning, through the plan to expand the membership and organization, the PKI followed the line of becoming a mass party. But in the last few years, it was stated that the PKI was simultaneously a mass party and a cadre party. By a mass party it was meant a party with a large membership and a broad influence among the masses. By a cadre party it was meant a party whose members were armed with Marxism-Leninism and constituted the most active and leading elements among the masses.

How a Marxist-Leninist party should be organized and what should be the features of such a Marxist-Leninist party have been clearly explained by both Lenin and Stalin. The PKI has taken the essence of the features of a Marxist-Leninist party by stipulating in its Constitution that "the PKI is the advanced detachment and the highest

form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat".

In fact, it should not be a question of dispute whether a Communist (Marxist-Leninist) party should become a mass party or a cadre party. Both are included in the features of the party whose essence is also laid down in the Constitution of the PKI. The Party's role as the vanguard of the working class can be fulfilled only when, on the one hand, it constitutes the advanced detachment of the whole ranks of the working class, while on the other hand, it is not separated from the whole ranks of the working class.

Stalin has explained the meaning of the Party's role as the vanguard in the following words: "The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order that it may really be the advanced detachment, the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a

knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution. Without this it will be incapable of directing the struggle of the proletariat, of leading the proletariat. . . . The Party must stand at the head of the working class; it must see farther than the working class; it must lead the proletariat, and not drag at the tail of the spontaneous movement".³⁶

These words of Stalin clearly point out the conditions that must be fulfilled by a Marxist-Leninist party in order to realize its role as the vanguard party of the working class. Furthermore, these conditions clearly show that a Party member is not just anybody from among the working class, not an ordinary revolutionary, but he is one of the best elements of the working class who is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Not everybody from among the working class meets the requirements of a Party member. In this sense, a Marxist-Leninist party is a cadre party.

Stalin has also explained that "the Party cannot be only an *advanced detachment*. It must at the same time be a detachment of the class, part of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibres of its being. The distinction between the advanced detachment and the rest of the working class, between Party members and non-Party people cannot disappear until classes disappear; . . . But the Party would cease to be a Party if this distinction developed into a gap, if the Party turned in on itself and became divorced from the non-Party masses. The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no bond between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership".³⁷ (Italics according to the original — Politbureau).

Stalin's explanation shows the necessity for a Marxist-Leninist party to have a mass character. Because the role of the Party as an advanced detachment

can only be realized when the Party is able to closely unite with and is supported by the non-Party masses. And the support of the masses can be obtained by the Party when it is capable of taking the correct attitude towards the people and of leading the people in the correct manner, and when it is capable of defending the interests of the people in all fields, first and foremost in the political field.

It is clear that the mass character of the Party or the feature as a mass party is not determined above all by the large membership, but primarily by the close ties linking the Party and the masses, by the Party's political line which defends the interests of the masses, or in other words by the implementation of the Party's mass line. And the mass line of the Party can only be maintained when the prerequisites of the Party's role as the advanced detachment are firmly upheld, when the Party members are made up of the best elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marx-

ism-Leninism. Consequently, to build a Marxist-Leninist party which has a mass character is impossible without giving primary importance to Marxist-Leninist education.

During the last few years, the PKI had carried out a line of Party building which deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the organizational field. After the success in expanding the membership and the organization through short-term plans, the Party had successively carried out the First 3-Year Plan (Organization and Education), and the Second 3-Year Plan (Education and Organization), and was embarking on the 4-Year Plan (Culture, Ideology and Organization). Through the fulfilment of the short-term plans and the First and the Second 3-Year Plans, the PKI had spread to all parts of the country, to all islands and nationalities throughout Indonesia, with a membership of more than three million. This was a great achievement.

But at the same time, liberalism was increasingly growing in the Party. Though it was stated that the Second 3-Year Plan placed the stress on ideological education, in practice, however, the expansion of the membership and the organization had always been emphasized. The plan for expanding the membership was carried out in disregard to the organization's capacity to take care of and educate the new members. Since the efforts were concentrated on reaching the figures fixed in the plan, the expansion of membership was thus carried out in violation of the stipulations of the Party Constitution. The organization of the PKI had been made so loose that everyone who had expressed his agreement with the programme of the PKI was accepted as a member. One could no longer clearly distinguish a Party member from a member of a mass organization led by the Party. The requirements for membership in the advanced detachment of

the working class were altogether abandoned.

This liberal expansion of Party membership could not be separated from the political line of the "peaceful road". The large membership was intended to increase the influence of the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. And with a Party that was growing bigger and bigger and by continuing to unite with the national bourgeoisie, the balance of forces that would make it possible to completely defeat the diehard forces would be achieved. The interests of the "peaceful road" were even more graphically reflected in the organizational field by the implementation of the 4-Year Plan of the Party.

In this Plan, the stress was no longer laid on the education and the training of Marxist-Leninist cadres to prepare them for the revolution, for working among the peasants in order to establish revolutionary bases, but on intellectual education to serve the need of the work

in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and to fill in the various positions in the state institutions that were obtained thanks to the cooperation with the national bourgeoisie. The slogan of "total integration with the peasants" had merely become empty talk. Instead of sending the best cadres to work in the rural areas, what was being done in practice was to draw cadres from the countryside to the cities, from the regions to the centre.

To raise the prestige of the PKI in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and to make it respected as a party of the intellectuals, the 4-Year Plan stipulated that all cadres of the higher ranks were required to complete academic education, cadres of the middle ranks high-school education, and cadres of the lower ranks lower middle-school education. For this purpose, a great number of academies, schools and courses were set up. So deep-rooted was the intellectualism gripping the Party leadership that all prominent figures of the Party and the

popular movements were required to write four theses in order to obtain the degree of "Marxist Scientist".

The deeper the Party was plunged into the mire of Right opportunism and revisionism, the greater it lost organizational vigilance, and the further legalism developed in the organization. The Party leadership had lost their class vigilance towards the falsity of bourgeois democracy. All the activities of the Party indicated as if the "peaceful road" was so certain. The Party leadership did not arouse the vigilance of the masses of Party members to the danger of attacks by the reactionaries who were constantly seeking for the chance to strike. It was due to this legalism in the organizational field, that within a short span of time counter-revolution had succeeded in paralysing the PKI organizationally.

Liberalism in organization had destroyed the principle of internal democracy of the Party, destroyed collective leadership and had given rise to per-

sonal leadership and personal rule, to autonomism which promoted the growth of personality cult. What was then practised was no longer democratic centralism, democracy that is centralized, which should be carried out on the basis of the mass line and should link the leadership with the masses, but commandism based on the subjective wishes and the subjective interests of the leadership. Formally, the principles of internal democracy of the Party and the principles of collective leadership were not completely discarded. And formally, all the decisions of the leading bodies were taken unanimously. But at the same time, it was not seldom that decisions were made outside the supposedly competent leading bodies of the Party. This wrong method which ran counter to the Marxist-Leninist principles, had prevailed because among others of the following factors:

First, the mistakes in the organizational field, in particular those concerning the style of work which gave the

Party leadership the conditions to build separate channels beyond the control of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. The result was that the competent leading bodies of the Party such as the Political Bureau, were not placed in their proper position, nor considered the proper place to solve all affairs of the Party and of the revolution. Through these separate channels, the leadership were able to take political and organizational measures, including the disposition of cadres; and it was not seldom that the Political Bureau was merely to endorse those steps taken by the leadership, or to consider certain problems with only an incomplete and superficial knowledge of them.

Second, the lack of critical attitude towards the leadership in the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and other Party organizations. It had become a tradition that everything the leadership said was regarded as right and was carried out without being first discussed and thoroughly thought over.

And this lack of critical attitude was due among other things to the theoretical weaknesses, which resulted in the lack of a strong foundation upon which to refute the views of the leadership, when these views were felt to be erroneous. In the last few years, after the Party had set up the group of theoretical workers, Party leaders in general had been more and more detached from theoretical problems. When there were discussions which involved theoretical questions, practically only these theoretical workers took an active part. Besides, there was also the lack of courage to express a stand that was not in agreement with the line followed by the leadership.

Third, the belief was instilled in the Party which exaggerated the aspect of monolithic unity in the Party. It was as if no differences of opinion existed any more on matters of principle. As a result, it was regarded as an abnormality when there was any difference of opinion on matters of principle with

the leadership. Such an atmosphere made Party cadres feel reluctant to air their views and feelings freely and openly with regard to the line pursued by the leadership which they considered incorrect. As a matter of fact, there were a number of cadres who did not agree with the opportunist or revisionist political and organizational lines followed by the Party leadership, though they did not raise their views openly and freely in the collectives of the Party. However, the views and feelings of these cadres did not receive good response on the part of the leadership. The lack of freedom to express the views and feelings of the cadres was also influenced by the policy of the disposition of cadres that was marked by "favouritism" and, to a certain extent, by the existence of the isolation of certain cadres.

In a situation when liberalism dominated the organizational line of the Party, it was impossible to realize the Party's style of work, namely, "integrat-

ing theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism". It was equally impossible to realize the method of leadership whose essence is the combination of the leadership with the masses; which must be realized by the leadership giving an example to the rank-and-file.

What actually took place was not the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, but adjusting Marxist-Leninist teachings with the views of the bourgeoisie, systematizing and developing the views and the theories of the bourgeoisie and, under the slogan of "Indonesianization of Marxism-Leninism", "developing Marxism-Leninism creatively", etc., revising Marxism-Leninism.

The line of close relations with the masses and of integrating the leadership with the masses can be truly realized only when the Party integrates itself in the most consistent manner with the masses of the people, especially

with the workers, farm labourers and poor peasants. And in the implementation of this line, the leadership must give an example to the rank-and-file. But this was not the case. Many Party cadres, especially higher-ranking cadres of the Party, and still more particularly those with certain skills to meet the demands of work in the various fields of governmental and semi-governmental institutions, had attained a standard of living which was by far different from the standard of living of the workers and the rest of the working people. They enjoyed the same facilities as the high-ranking officials of the government.

In the Party even prevailed the tradition according to which the leaders of central and regional Party and revolutionary mass organizations should also have an official function in the government, in order to have additional authority, to become not only prominent in the Party but public figures as well, nationally or regionally. By the prev-

alence of this tradition, many leaders of the Party and the mass organizations devoted the greater part of their activities to the work in the governmental and semi-governmental institutions. This led to the lack of attention to Party life, both in the ideological and organizational fields.

In the regions, and particularly in the centre, the way of life led by a part of Party leaders was no longer adjusted to the way of life of the masses who were still suffering, but to that pursued by the bourgeoisie. All of this was carried out under the signboard of "acting in accordance with the grandeur of the Party", "raising the prestige of the Party", "leaving behind the old-fashioned way", etc. Among the leaders of the Party, there were even those who slid down in the decadent bourgeois morals, and besmeared Communist morality.

In such an atmosphere, the integration with the most suffering masses of the people could not possibly be real-

ized. The appeals to "combat complacency", to "be a good and still better Communist", to "bring up a Communist family", etc. were no more than a smoke-screen to hide the hypocrisy and the moral degradation among the Party leadership. These appeals were indeed not directed at the leadership. It was as if only cadres outside the leadership had committed misdeeds which did not conform to Communist morality. Simultaneously with the issuing of those appeals, the "bourgeois way of life" continued among the Party leadership.

When cadres from the regions looked up to the centre, instead of finding examples of Communist simplicity, both in Party life and in private life, they found examples of "luxury", "modernity" and Communist "grandeur" in Party life as well as in private life. The Party leadership turned a deaf ear to the honest criticisms made by certain comrades and branded such criticisms as "backwardness", "unwillingness to use the available facilities to the

maximum in the interest of the Party and the people", "failure to raise the prestige of the Party", etc.

Thus in general the wrong political line which ruled in the Party was followed by the wrong line in the organizational field which violated the principles of a Marxist-Leninist party, destroyed the organizational foundations of the Party, namely, democratic centralism, and damaged the Party's style of work and method of leadership.

To build the PKI as a Marxist-Leninist party, liberalism in the organizational field and the ideological source which had given birth to it must be thoroughly uprooted. The PKI must be rebuilt as a Lenin-type party, a party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and the highest form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat, a party with a historical mission of leading the masses of the Indonesian people to win victory in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist revolution, to

advance towards socialism. Such a party must fulfil the following conditions: **ideologically**, it is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; **politically**, it has a correct programme which includes a revolutionary agrarian programme, has a thorough understanding of the problems of the strategy and tactics of the Indonesian revolution, masters the main form of struggle, namely, the armed struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, as well as other forms of struggle, is capable of establishing a revolutionary united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class; **organizationally**, it is strong and has a deep root among the masses of the people, consists of the most trusted, experienced and the most steeled Party members who set an example in the implementation of the national tasks.

Today, we are rebuilding our Party under the reign of unbridled counter-revolutionary white terror which is most cruel and ferocious. The legality of the Party and the basic human rights of the Communists had been completely violated. The Party, therefore, has to be organized and has to work in complete illegality. While working in complete illegality, the Party must be adept at utilizing to the full all possible opportunities to carry out legal activities according to circumstances, and to choose ways and means that are acceptable to the masses with the aim of mobilizing the masses for struggle and leading this struggle step by step to a higher stage.

Naturally, in a situation when the Party must work in complete illegality, democratic centralism, in particular internal democracy, cannot be applied to the full in the Party. Under such a situation, every leading body of the Party must exert its energy to gain knowledge of and to handle correctly all

the views and feelings of Party members. For this purpose, the Party's Marxist-Leninist style of work, method of leadership and the principle of collective leadership must be consistently carried out.

In rebuilding the PKI along the Marxist-Leninist line, the greatest attention should be devoted to the building of Party organizations in the rural areas, to the establishment of revolutionary bases.

The task to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist party as has been stated above is an arduous and protracted work, and full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

THE WAY OUT

Once we know the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period after 1951 as has been explained above, weaknesses and mistakes that have

brought about serious damage to the PKI and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people, it is clear to us that the most urgent task faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at the present time is, primarily, the rebuilding of the PKI as a Marxist-Leninist party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

To rebuild the PKI as such a Marxist-Leninist party, Party cadres of all levels and then all Party members must reach a unanimity of mind with regard to the mistakes made by the Party in the past, as well as concerning the new road that must be taken.

As a result of the attacks of the third white terror, the Party has lost many cadres who had long years of experience in Party work and the work in revolutionary mass movement. However, when unanimity of mind has been reached regarding the principal mistakes made by the Party in the past and concerning the new road that must be taken, then stable leadership at all levels can be

established step by step from among the surviving cadres. These will be capable of fulfilling their tasks in leading the Party and the Indonesian people to overcome the difficulties one by one during this period in which counter-revolution reigns and the tide of revolution is at a low ebb, bringing the people's struggle forward step by step and finally leading the new revolutionary high tide which will certainly come.

In order to reach such a unanimity of mind, a rectification movement must be carried out in the whole Party. Through this rectification movement we mean to remould the erroneous ideas of the past into correct ideas. To be able to advance along the new road, it is absolutely necessary to abandon the wrong road. It will not be possible to advance along the correct road without first completely abandoning the wrong one.

Under the present situation, it will not be easy to come to a unanimity of mind concerning all past mistakes down to the minutest details. But, what is absolute-

ly necessary is a unanimity of mind regarding the fundamental problems dealt with in this self-criticism. Without understanding this fundamental problem, one will never be able to join in the realization of this heavy but great and noble task to build a Marxist-Leninist party in Indonesia, as a sure guarantee for the existence of a trusted leadership of the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia. As has been analysed above, the opportunist and revisionist mistakes in the political and organizational fields made by our Party which have been subjected to this criticism were not merely the outcome of the social and historical conditions during the last decade, but their roots could be traced farther back in the social and historical conditions since the founding of our Party. Therefore, it is completely wrong to consider that everything will be alright, once we have made the present criticism and self-criticism. So long as the ideology of subjectivism is not completely eradicated from the Party, or

worse still, if it is still to be found among the Party leadership, then our Party will not be able to avoid mistakes of Right or "Left" opportunism, because our Party will not be able to analyse the political situation correctly, and consequently will not be able to give the correct directives. It is above all the task of the leadership and the central cadres, and then of the regional leadership and cadres at all levels to combat subjectivism persistently and wholeheartedly.

Subjectivism can be effectively combated and liquidated only when the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie is raised, and when criticism and self-criticism is encouraged. The ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie can only be raised by intensifying the education of Marxism-Leninism. The Party must educate its members to apply the Marxist-Leninist meth-

od in analysing the political situation and in evaluating the forces of existing classes, so that subjective analysis and evaluation can be avoided. The Party must direct the attention of the members to the investigation and study of social and economic conditions, in order to be able to define the tactics of struggle and the corresponding method of work. The Party must help the members to understand that without investigating the actual conditions they will get bogged down in phantasy.

The awareness of the mistakes made by the Party in the past is a very favourable condition to master the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must spare neither efforts nor energy to overcome the difficulties brought about by the current white terror for the endeavour to study Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian

Marxist-Leninists, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also, in particular, to study the thoughts of Mao Tsetung, who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era.

The PKI will be able to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, only when it takes a resolute stand in opposing modern revisionism which today is centred around the leading group of the CPSU. Opposing modern revisionism cannot be carried out while, at the same time, preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists. The PKI must abandon the wrong attitude it held in the past with regard to the question of the relations with the modern revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against modern revisionism, because modern revisionism has destroyed pro-

letarian internationalism, and betrayed the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples all over the world.

In rebuilding the Party, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must devote their attention to the creation of the conditions to lead the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants, that will become the main form of struggle to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia. This means that the greatest attention should be paid to the rebuilding of Party organizations in the rural areas. The greatest attention must be paid to the solution of the problem of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution. The integration of the Party with the peasants, in particular with farm labourers and poor peasants, must be conscientiously carried out. Because, only through such an integration, will the Party be able to lead the peasantry, and the peasantry, for their part, will be capable of becoming the invincible

bulwark of the people's democratic revolution.

As a result of the attacks of the third white terror, Party organizations in the rural areas in general have suffered greater damage, rendering it more difficult and arduous to work in the countryside. But this does not in any way change the inexorable law that the main force of the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia is the peasantry, and its base area is the countryside. With the most resolute determination that everything is for the masses of the people, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to overcome the grave difficulties. By having wholehearted faith in the masses and by relying on the masses, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to transform the backward Indonesian villages into great and consolidated military, political, and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Indonesian peasants are the most interested in the people's democratic

revolution. Because, only this revolution will liberate them from the life of backwardness and inequality as a result of feudal suppression. It is only this revolution that will give them what they dreamt of all their lives, and which will give them life: land. That is why the peasants will surely take this road of revolution for land and liberation, no matter how arduous and full of twists and turns this road will be.

Obviously, the second task of the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at present is the creation of the necessary conditions for the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. Provided that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists succeed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants to carry through an anti-feudal agrarian revolution, the leadership of the working class in the people's democratic revolution, and the victory of this revolution, are assured.

However, the Party must continue the efforts to establish a revolutionary

united front with other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. Based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party must work to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and other democratic forces, and must also work to win over the national bourgeoisie as an additional ally in the people's democratic revolution. The present objective conditions offer the possibility for the establishment of a broad revolutionary united front.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Nasution and Suharto is but the manifestation of the rule by the most reactionary classes in the country, namely, the compradore bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and landlords. The domestic reactionary classes under the leadership of the clique of Right-wing army generals exercise the dictatorship over the Indonesian people, and act as the watchdogs guarding the interests of imperi-

alism, in particular United States imperialism, in Indonesia. Consequently, the coming-into-power of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly serve to intensify the suppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and feudalism.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals represents the interests of only a very small minority who suppresses the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people. That is why the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly meet with the resistance from the broad masses of the people. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals does not represent the masses of soldiers in the Armed Forces of the Indonesian Republic, either. Therefore, resistance to the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals also arises from among the soldiers. It is clear then that in the struggle to smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing

army generals, there is the possibility to establish the broadest possible front.

The present situation is different from the situation during the second white terror (Madiun provocation). At present, not all of the middle forces join the counter-revolution in attacking the motive forces of the revolution. The Left-wing of the middle forces, having also been made the targets of attacks by counter-revolution, are putting up resistance. The number of these middle forces resisting the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals is increasing. The Party must continue to forge a united front with these forces.

Thus, the third urgent task faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists is to establish a revolutionary united front with all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, it has become clear that to win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists

must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

The second banner, the armed people's struggle which, in essence, is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The Political Bureau has hereby made self-criticism on the serious weaknesses and grave mistakes of the Party during the period since 1951 that have brought about grave damage to the Party and the entire revolutionary movement.

The tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are very arduous. They have to work under the most savage and barbarous terror and persecution which have no parallel in history.

However, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists do not have the slightest doubt that, by correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the past, they are now marching along the correct road, the road of people's democratic revolution. No matter how protracted, tortuous and full of difficulties, this is the only road leading to a free and democratic New Indonesia, an Indonesia that will really belong to the Indonesian people, for which we must have the courage to traverse the long road.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, on the basis of their own experience in struggle, do not have the slightest doubt about the correctness of Comrade Mao Tsetung's thesis that the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance they are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is the people who are really powerful. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals which is now in power is also a paper tiger. In

appearance they are powerful and terrifying. But in reality they are not so powerful, because they are not supported but, on the contrary, are opposed by the people, because their ranks are beset by contradictions, and because they are quarrelling among themselves for a bigger share of the plunder, and for greater power. The imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists, who are the mainstay of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals are also paper tigers. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying, but in reality they are weak and heading towards their downfall. The weakness of imperialism, in particular United States imperialism, is demonstrated by their inability to conquer the heroic Vietnamese people and to check the tide of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the people all over the world, including the American people themselves, who are furiously dealing blows at U.S. imperialism.

From the strategic point of view, the imperialists and all reactionaries are weak and consequently we must despise them. By despising the enemies strategically, we can build up the courage to fight them and the confidence to defeat them. At the same time, we must take them all seriously, take full account of their strength tactically, and refrain from taking adventurist steps against them.

Today we are in an era when imperialism is undergoing its total collapse and socialism is marching forward triumphantly all over the world. No force on earth can prevent the total downfall of imperialism and all other reactionaries, and no force can block the victory of socialism throughout the world. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals as a watch-dog guarding the interests of imperialism in Indonesia will also not be able to avert its destruction. The vicious and savage massacre and tortures against the hundreds of thousands of Communists and

democrats which they are still continuing today, will not be able to prevent the people and the Communists from rising up in resistance. On the contrary, all the brutalities and cruelties will certainly arouse the tit-for-tat resistance struggle of the people. The Communists will avenge the death of their hundreds of thousands of comrades with the resolve to serve still better the people, the revolution and the Party.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists who are suffering from the attacks of the third white terror express their most heartfelt gratitude for the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists all over the world. The solidarity has strengthened the convictions of the Indonesian revolutionaries in the inseparable bonds linking their struggle for national liberation and the struggle of the international proletariat for socialism. The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will spare neither efforts nor energy to fulfil the best wishes of the world Marxist-Leninists by resolutely defending Marxism-Lenin-

ism and struggling against modern revisionism, by working still better for the liberation of their people and country, and for the world proletarian revolution.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists who are united in mind and determined to take the road of revolution, by putting their wholehearted faith in the people, by relying on the people, by working courageously, perseveringly, conscientiously, patiently, persistently and vigilantly, will surely be able to accomplish their historical mission, to lead the people's democratic revolution, to smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals and to set up a completely new power, the people's democratic dictatorship. With the people's democratic dictatorship, the joint power of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups under the leadership of the working class, the Indonesian people will completely liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism, build a free and democratic new society, and advance towards socialism where

the suppression and exploitation of man by man no longer exist.

Let us unite closely to take the road of revolution which is illuminated by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people and proletariat, the road leading to socialism.

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC OF THE PKI

Central Java, September 1966

NOTES

¹ Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder.

² The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia (Resolution of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, August 1948).

³ Mao Tsetung, *Our Study and the Current Situation* (Speech made by Comrade Mao Tsetung at a meeting of senior cadres in Yenan on April 12, 1944).

⁴ Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*

⁵ Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*

⁶ D.N. Aidit, *Be a Good and Still Better Communist.*

⁷ Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*

⁸ Lenin, *Lecture on 1905 Revolution.*

⁹ D.N. Aidit, Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the 6th Congress of the PKI.

¹⁰ Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, English edition.

¹¹ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* (The complete text of the quotation reads as follows: "... a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of other countries. And in order to implement this experience, it is not enough merely to be acquainted with it, or simply to transcribe the latest revolutions. What it requires is the ability to treat this experience critically and to test it independently." — Tr.)

¹⁴ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution.*

¹⁵ Mao Tsetung, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, English edition.

¹⁶ Lenin, *The State and Revolution.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution.*

¹⁹ Lenin, *The State and Revolution.*

²⁰ The leadership of the Italian Communist Party holds that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy can be established, not through a proletarian revolution by smashing the bourgeois state machine, but through the gradual reforms in the state structure by making use of the Italian Constitution and by parliamentary means.

²¹ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.*

²⁴ Lenin, *The State and Revolution.*

²⁵ *The New Road for the Republic of Indonesia* (Resolution of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, August 1948).

²⁶ D.N. Aidit, *Lessons from the History of the PKI* (Speech at the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PKI).

²⁷ D.N. Aidit, Report to the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the 5th Congress of the PKI.

²⁸ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution*.

²⁹ D.N. Aidit, Report to the Fourth Plenary Session of the CC PKI, May 1965.

³⁰ D.N. Aidit, General Report to the 7th Congress of the PKI (1962).

³¹ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution*.

³² D.N. Aidit, Speech at the First Party Conference on the Work Among the Peasants.

³³ D.N. Aidit, *Raise High the Banner of Revolution*.

³⁴ D.N. Aidit, Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the 6th Congress of the PKI.

³⁵ Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.

³⁶ Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

**HOLD ALOFT THE BANNER
OF MARXISM-LENINISM,
MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT:
MARCH FORWARD ALONG
THE ROAD OF REVOLUTION!**

(Message of the Political Bureau
of the CC PKI, May 23, 1967)

Today, May 23, 1967 the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Party we revere and dearly love, commemorates the 47th anniversary of its founding. It is for the second time that we commemorate this historic day for the Indonesian revolution under the rampaging tyranny of the counter-revolutionary rule headed by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique. But as compared to one year ago when we commemorated the 46th birthday of our Party, the situation has now become relatively better. Our Party and the Indonesian revolutionary movement are in the process of resurgence, and are marching forward step by step but steadily along the road of revolution. The rebuilding of the PKI and the revolutionary forces are being carried out not only in Java, but also in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, the

Nusa Tenggara islands and the Moluccas. On the other hand, the counter-revolutionary forces are facing grave difficulties both nationally and internationally, in the political as well as economic fields, difficulties they will never be able to surmount.

One year ago, on the occasion of the 46th birthday of our Party, under the most brutal and savage fascist persecution and terror, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee firmly resolved to conduct self-criticism, correcting the serious mistakes made by the Party in the period since 1951 up to 1965. The Political Bureau was firmly convinced that by correcting the past mistakes of the Party and discussing the method of overcoming them, the PKI could never be destroyed, despite the most barbarous large-scale white terror in history it had to face. The Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party was then carried in a document issued in September, 1966. Thanks to the self-criticism that

was conducted in a Marxist-Leninist way, the PKI, which had been thrown into disarray, could be successfully rebuilt step by step into a Marxist-Leninist party. The serious danger of a split that would have harmed further the Indonesian revolutionary movement could be averted. By unfolding criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, the PKI, which has decreased quantitatively in terms of the size of membership, has qualitatively achieved really important progress. Outwardly, the PKI has shrunk but essentially it is now resurging. Though not all problems pertaining to the historical experience of the Party and the Indonesian revolution have been completely clarified by the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau — something impossible to accomplish in so short a time — we have nevertheless succeeded in finding the way out from darkness by the formulation of the Three Banners of the Party (New) which made up the three main

prerequisites for the victory of the people's democratic revolution.

The criticism and self-criticism conducted in a Marxist-Leninist way in the Party have transformed the grief and sorrow of the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people into an indestructible will to fight. Determined to take revenge for the death and tortures inflicted on hundreds of thousands of their comrades-in-arms, the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are rising from the ground, picking up the red banner of Marxism-Leninism and raising it high, and marching resolutely onward to armed revolution.

By correcting the opportunist and revisionist mistakes, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists have joined the ranks of the world Marxist-Leninists. The hearts of the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are closely linked with the hearts of the world Marxist-Leninists, who are consolidating their ranks and keeping up the great struggle against

modern revisionism headed by the leading clique of the CPSU. For the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and every Indonesian who cherish independence and liberation, the fight against the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union is absolutely indispensable, because the Soviet revisionist clique, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, has propped up the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which has led the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and patriots.

In this process of resurgence of the Party and the Indonesian revolutionary movement we still encounter uninterrupted difficulties, obstacles and counter-revolutionary attacks. Even as late as the end of 1966 heavy fresh attacks were mounted by the counter-revolutionaries with the help of a handful of traitors of the Party. These fresh attacks at the end of last year have brought about great losses for the Central Committee and the Greater Jakarta Committee. Our Party again has

lost leading members of the Central Committee, including Comrades Sudisman, Anwar Sanusi and Djokosudjono, as well as leading members of the Greater Djakarta Committee. But, however numerous the obstacles and difficulties and however heavy the new attacks, facts are proving that they can never prevent the resurgence of the Party and the Indonesian revolutionary movement that have again found their orientation in the revolution.

How is the situation of the counter-revolution today? The victory of the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces and their superiority over the revolutionary forces have been achieved not because the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces are in rising development. This has happened because the revolutionary forces led by the PKI had undergone major deterioration, as a result of the opportunist and revisionist errors of our Party, which had enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to deal heavy blows at the PKI and the Indo-

nesian revolutionary movement. This victory of the counter-revolutionary forces in Indonesia as well as their superiority over the revolutionary forces are temporary in nature. It is taking place in a situation when the forces of counter-revolution on a global scale are heading for their total downfall. The mainstay of the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces is shaky. Internally, the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces rely on a decadent social system, namely the vestiges of feudalism which are totally in contradiction with the vast masses of the Indonesian people. Externally, the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces rely on U.S. imperialism and are supported by the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union. This external mainstay too, is not a stable mainstay but a decaying one.

After eighteen months in power, the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces headed by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique presently are plagued by mountains of difficulties which they can

never surmount. In its efforts to overcome the ever worsening economic and financial crisis, the Indonesian fascist military regime is resorting to two means: firstly, by increasing taxes which strangle the people and arbitrarily carrying out mass dismissals of employees in state enterprises, state trading companies and other government agencies, and secondly, by begging for "aid" and credits from the imperialist countries. At the same time, the Indonesian fascist military regime is giving the broadest opportunity to foreign monopoly capitalists, especially of the U.S., to invest their capital in the industrial, agricultural and commercial fields. In that way the Indonesian fascist military regime has sold the national interests of Indonesia to the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, and transformed Indonesia into a new-type colony of the U.S. imperialists. By taking this road, the Indonesian Right-wing clique will never be able to surmount the difficulties con-

fronting them. On the contrary, this road will only lead to the further deepening of the economic and financial crisis, the bankruptcy of the national and small businessmen, the spread of unemployment and the steady drop of the people's purchasing power. Consequently, this will inevitably give rise to the broadest resistance by the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and patriotic national bourgeoisie; in short by all strata of the people.

The Right-wing military regime of Indonesia, in the service of its master, the U.S. imperialists, and in order to divert the attention of the public from the great difficulties they are facing, is pursuing an anti-China and anti-Chinese policy. They have launched the most outrageous large-scale suppression and persecution of the overseas Chinese. The unparalleled racist suppression has met with the just and courageous resistance of the overseas Chinese. The valiant resistance of the overseas Chinese has dealt heavy blows

at and led to new difficulties for the fascist military regime, especially in the economic field. The large-scale racist suppression has aroused the strong denunciation of the Indonesian and world revolutionary peoples. The Indonesian people express their deep sympathy to the persecuted overseas Chinese. The Indonesian people and the Chinese people have for a long time forged a militant friendship. The militant friendship between the Indonesian people and the Chinese people can never be destroyed by the large-scale racist suppression of the overseas Chinese perpetrated by the Right-wing military regime of Indonesia. On the contrary, this friendship will surely be further consolidated in the common struggle against the tyranny of the Indonesian fascist military regime and U.S. imperialism.

Apart from having to face those difficulties, the counter-revolutionary forces are also beset by contradictions emerging in their own camp, contradictions within the reactionary clique in the

scramble for power, in the political as well as economic fields, which sometimes develop into sharp contradictions. Besides, the economic and financial crisis has led to the increasingly rampant corruption, smuggling and blackmail carried out by personnel of the Indonesian Right-wing military regime. These have served to deepen the hatred of the broad masses of the people towards this regime.

Of late, the development of the political situation in the country shows that objective conditions favourable for the revolution are growing, while the counter-revolutionary forces are beginning to encounter difficulties which gradually reduce their superiority. By all its reactionary actions, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime is creating its own grave-diggers.

The objective conditions favourable for the Indonesian revolution also exist in the development of the international situation. The position of the two major forces which constitute the aspects in

the main contradiction of the world today is such: Socialism is advancing to world-wide victory, while imperialism is heading for total collapse.

At the time when imperialism is on the verge of death, it finds its chief accomplice in the modern revisionist clique of the Soviet Union. The modern revisionist clique of the Soviet Union is attempting to check the advance of the wheel of history. They have replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and socialism with capitalism. In coordination with U.S. imperialism and other counter-revolutionary forces throughout the world, the modern revisionist clique of the Soviet Union is trying to prevent the peoples of the world from taking the road of liberation and socialism. However, the vicious schemes of the modern revisionist clique will never succeed in checking the high tide of the world revolution. On the contrary, the dirty counter-

revolutionary role of the Soviet modern revisionist clique has now been further exposed before the revolutionary peoples of the world. The total collapse which will befall imperialism will certainly befall its most faithful accomplice, the modern revisionist clique of the Soviet Union, too.

The process of the inevitable and total collapse of imperialism is being demonstrated by the fact that in Asian, African and Latin American countries, which are the source of life of imperialism, the revolutions for national liberation are advancing to storm the fortresses of imperialism. Revolutionary peoples in many countries are taking up arms and waging people's war as the only road to liberation. U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, and all reactionary and dark forces, are suffering heavy blows which continually weaken their strength. The brilliant victories of the people's war launched by the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression and

for national salvation clearly show that U.S. imperialism is facing its downfall.

The tremendous successes of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the current greatest international event of great historic significance. Under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people who have achieved brilliant successes in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, swept away the modern revisionists who were taking the capitalist road from within the Communist Party of China, the state organs and the cultural institutions, and consolidated socialist China as the most powerful and reliable bastion of the world revolution. The Indonesian revolutionary people together with the revolutionary peoples of the world exultantly hail this great victory of the Chinese people and of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought has solved a series of theoretical and practical problems of class struggle in socialist society, ensured the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and

the socialist system and prevented the restoration of capitalism. Thus, Comrade Mao Tsetung has developed Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tsetung Thought, the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, is the beacon-light for the world revolutionary peoples in their struggle to achieve liberation and Socialism. Mao Tsetung Thought gives inexhaustible inspiration to the oppressed peoples in their struggles, and is the great guidance for the world Marxist-Leninists in the great struggle against modern revisionism. The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists unhesitatingly recognize Mao Tsetung Thought as the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, and are determined to study and use it as an effective weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia, which inevitably will have to follow the road of people's war as shown by Comrade Mao Tsetung.

Such is the international situation of the present time, which can be briefly

summed up as being favourable for the revolution and unfavourable for the counter-revolution. In appraising the position of the revolutionary forces and of the counter-revolutionary forces, with a view to arming the Indonesian people with the courage and skill to fight their enemies who are still superior for the time being, we must firmly hold to Comrade Mao Tsetung's thesis on the double nature of imperialism and all reactionaries. They are real tigers, and at the same time they are paper tigers. On the one hand, the counter-revolutionary forces of Indonesia are real tigers who have killed hundreds of thousands of people. But meanwhile a process is taking place that will change this situation. The Indonesian revolutionary people are waging a tit-for-tat struggle against counter-revolutionary suppression. Through their unyielding revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia — and only through this struggle — the counter-revolutionary forces of

Indonesia will be reduced to paper tigers, and finally completely annihilated. All the actions of the Indonesian fascist military regime will only serve as dry faggots that will set ablaze the fire of people's resistance. The time will come when it will surely be blazing and burn down all the forces of counter-revolution to ashes.

The domestic and international objective factors which are favourable for the Indonesian revolution will only really be effective when the subjective factor, namely our Party, is able to utilize them correctly. Our Party has formulated the Three Banners of the Party (New) which set great and urgent tasks that must be resolutely carried out. To carry out consistently the tasks set by the Three Banners of the Party means to create subjective conditions to lead the revolution. On this occasion of commemorating the 47th birthday of our Party, let us strengthen our determination to accomplish more successfully the great

and urgent tasks set by the Three Banners of the Party.

We must work harder in realizing the tasks to rebuild the Communist Party of Indonesia into a Marxist-Leninist party, in line with the general principles of party building at the present time, namely party building which serves the armed struggle, stresses the work in the countryside and underground work. We must continue to eradicate completely the remnants of the opportunist and revisionist mistakes by uprooting their ideological source and eliminating the conditions for their growth, eradicating the spirit of individualism and fostering the spirit of selfless sacrifice for the interests of the people and the Party. For this purpose we must more assiduously study, master and practise Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

We must work still better to arouse the masses and lead their struggle against political oppression and economic exploitation, and especially to

kindle and lead the armed struggle or people's war as the only road towards liberation.

We must work still better to establish a revolutionary united front of all forces fighting against U.S. imperialism and the Indonesian fascist military regime. We must unite the broad masses of the people who are the victims of the reactionary policy of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime.

By consistently carrying out the tasks set by the Three Banners of the Party, we will possess the three main weapons to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia, namely: first, a Marxist-Leninist party which constitutes the core of leadership of the revolution; second, a people's armed force under the leadership of the Party as the main form of organization of the revolution; and third, a revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Party as the embodiment of all revolutionary forces in Indonesia.

On this glorious day we bow our heads in solemn tribute to hundreds of thousands of our comrades-in-arms who have died gloriously in upholding Communist prestige and honour. We pledge to avenge their death. The vengeance of hundreds of thousands of Communists is welded into a single determination to crush the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime. The blood debt incurred by the Indonesian reactionaries must be paid in blood.

In the solemnity of commemorating this historic day for the Party and the Indonesian revolution, the Political Bureau extends the warmest greetings and most heartfelt sympathy to all comrades who are suffering barbarous tortures in the prisons of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime. We hope and are convinced that your Communist spirit will keep ablaze and will give you the strength to surmount all kinds of difficulties and to subdue all kinds of sufferings. Your courageous struggle in surmounting the thousand-and-one

difficulties and against the tortures will break through the prison walls and inspire the comrades outside the jails in their struggle.

Our greetings and sympathy are also addressed to the members of Communist families who are steadfastly facing all kinds of sufferings. We hope and are convinced that at these moments of great difficulties you will surely strengthen solidarity, for only by the strength of our solidarity can all difficulties surely be surmounted.

To the comrades who are staying abroad we wish to express our hope and conviction that you will work still harder and do everything for the Indonesian revolution and for the lofty cause of Communism.

Let us be resolute, hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and march forward along the road of revolution!

Long live and glory to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live and glory to the Communist
Party of Indonesia!

POLITICAL BUREAU OF
THE CC OF THE PKI

May 23, 1967

THE PROGRAMME OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF
INDONESIA FOR PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

(November 1967)

INTRODUCTION

The Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) has most strongly criticized the opportunist and revisionist mistakes made by the Party leadership during the period between 1951 and 1965. The essence of the mistakes committed by the Party during this period was the failure to carry out the principle of Marxism-Leninism on revolution, namely the seizure of political power by armed force.

The opportunist and revisionist mistake was reflected in the Party programme that was ratified by the Fifth Party Congress (1954) and, still more clearly, after the programme was revised by the Sixth Party Congress

(1959) and the Seventh Party Congress (1962).

The programme ratified by the Fifth Party Congress spoke of the necessity "to replace the government of the feudal and compradore overlords, and to establish a people's democratic government". The programme pointed out that "parliamentary struggle alone is not enough to achieve the aim of establishing a people's democratic government", and that "the way out lies in changing the balance of forces between the imperialists, the landlords and the compradore-bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the forces of the people on the other. The way out lies in arousing, mobilizing and organizing the masses, in particular the workers and peasants". However, the programme did not say a single word on the necessity to seize political power through armed struggle. Without armed struggle, it is impossible to change the balance of forces as stated in the programme, it is impossible to find a way

out for the Indonesian people, and it is impossible to achieve a people's democratic power.

The Sixth Party Congress aggravated the mistake by adopting the line of Khrushchovite modern revisionism, namely the line of "peaceful transition", in the programme of the Party. It was said in the programme that "the working class can fulfil its historical mission in a democratic state where parliament and other institutions are reformed, that means giving them a really democratic content and constituting them according to the wish of the people", and that the peaceful road or parliamentary road "is a possibility, a possibility that we must persistently strive to transform into a reality". The modern revisionist line had been further established in the Party Programme by the Seventh Party Congress.

The old Party programme consisted of the "General Programme", namely the programme for people's democracy, and the "Programme of Immediate

Demands" which contained a series of demands that were considered possible to be implemented by certain bourgeois governments before the establishment of a people's democratic government. The "Programme of Immediate Demands" was formulated on the basis of the view that "the PKI does not adopt one and the same attitude towards governments before the establishment of a people's democratic government", and that "in a certain situation the Party is in opposition to the government and calls on the masses to overthrow it, in another situation the Party supports the government, while in still another situation the Party participates in the government". The programme ratified by the Sixth Party Congress also said: "the PKI considers that the Programme of Immediate Demands can be best implemented by a *gotong rojong* government (national coalition government — Politbureau) but, even when it is not yet a *gotong rojong* government, so long as it takes an anti-colonialist and

progressive stand, it possesses the conditions to meet the urgent demands of the Indonesian people".

From the viewpoint that was made the basis to formulate "the Programme of Immediate Demands" which constituted the integral part of the Party Programme can be clearly seen the opportunist political line with regard to the state power. All governments existing prior to the establishment of a people's democratic government can be no other but bourgeois governments; they are organs of the rule of the bourgeois and feudal classes in exercising dictatorship over the working class and the rest of the working people. Such a political line had engendered the illusion among the people that bourgeois rule in the era of the general crisis of capitalism was still capable of improving the living conditions of the people. This opportunist political line hindered the growth of the consciousness among the working class and the rest of the working people on the necessity to re-

place bourgeois dictatorship with people's dictatorship led by the working class, through violent revolution. On the contrary, it helped to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie that was already facing economic and political crises.

It is clear that the Party programme since the Fifth Party Congress was an opportunist and revisionist programme. For this reason the Political Bureau has considered it necessary, and accordingly decided, to replace the old revisionist Party programme with a new Party programme, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist programme.

The task of the Party at present is to mobilize the masses of the people to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship by force of arms, and to establish a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class. In line with the task of the Party, the new programme, apart from showing the way to achieve people's democracy through armed revolution, has omitted the so-called Programme of Immediate

Demands. By abolishing the Programme of Immediate Demands is not meant that it is no longer necessary for the Party to lead the struggle for reforms waged by the different groups of the masses of the people. The Party will always include the struggle for reforms as a part of its revolutionary activities. However, the struggle for reforms will never liberate the masses of the people from oppression and exploitation. The way to achieve real improvement in the living conditions, the way leading to the fulfilment of the fundamental interests of the masses of the people such as political independence, food, clothing and housing, lies in the armed struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the concentrated form of which is the fascist regime of Suharto-Nasution.

The Political Bureau presents this programme to the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, small businessmen, fishermen, patriotic national businessmen and other democratic

groups to be used as a guide in their revolutionary struggle to liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and for overthrowing the fascist dictatorship of Suharto-Nasution.

The Political Bureau expects every Party member to be daring and persevering in propagating this programme as widely as possible among the masses of the people, so that the masses will regard this programme as their own and carry it out consistently. The Political Bureau calls on all Party members to become courageous, militant and conscious revolutionary fighters, and set an example among the people in carrying out this programme.

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC OF THE PKI

November, 1967

PRESENT-DAY INDONESIA IS A NEW- TYPE COLONY OF UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM AND A SEMI-FEUDAL COUNTRY

In August 1945, the Indonesian people rose in revolution. The Indonesian people took up arms, wrested power from the hands of the Japanese fascist imperialists, and later launched a war of independence against the aggression by the Dutch imperialists who were supported by the British and U.S. imperialists. The 1945 August Revolution was a revolution carried out by the broad masses of the people to achieve a completely independent and democratic Indonesia.

The 1945 August Revolution, however, failed in attaining its objective aim, namely a completely independent

and democratic Indonesia, an Indonesia based on people's democracy as the transitional stage to a socialist Indonesia. The August Revolution ended in failure due to the absence of working class leadership as well as to the betrayal by the Indonesian reactionary bourgeoisie.

The PKI, as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class which should bear the historical mission to lead the Indonesian revolution, was then still unable to fulfil its historical mission. The PKI entered the 1945 August Revolution in a state of serious weakness in the ideological, political and organizational fields. The PKI had not yet mastered Marxist-Leninist principles of revolution and seriously lacked the knowledge on the concrete conditions of the Indonesian society. The absence of working class leadership led to the failure of the August Revolution in carrying out the preliminary task that should have been accomplished, namely the complete destruction of the colonial

state machine and the setting up of a revolutionary political power under the leadership of the working class. The power that was brought into being by the August Revolution was not a people's democratic power but a bourgeois power. The participation of Communists in the government during the 1945-1947 period, and the formation of a coalition government led by a Communist in July 1947 that lasted until January 1948, did not lend a people's democratic character to the Republic of Indonesia. This was because the PKI pursued an opportunist policy, because compradore elements still occupied key positions in the government, and because the organs of colonial bureaucracy were not totally destroyed, to be replaced by completely new organs of power. Without establishing a people's democratic power, the August Revolution was unable to liquidate the domination of imperialism and feudalism. The Revolution failed to carry out a radical agrarian reform that would

liberate the peasantry from feudal oppression. For this reason, the peasantry which forms the main mass force of the revolution could not be mobilized into an invincible bastion of the revolution.

The 1945 August Revolution met its decisive failure when the reactionary bourgeoisie led by Mohammad Hatta succeeded in completely seizing state power in 1948, and launched a white terror against Communists and other patriotic fighters upon the orders of U.S. imperialism. The reactionary clique led by Mohammad Hatta completely capitulated to the Dutch imperialists. On November 2, 1949, the reactionary Indonesian government headed by Mohammad Hatta signed the agreements of the Round Table Conference (RTC) which legalized once again the privileges enjoyed by the Dutch imperialists in the political, economic, military and cultural fields.

The rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie led by Mohammad Hatta had

turned Indonesia into a new-type colony of Dutch imperialism. And West Irian, one-fifth of Indonesia's territory, was still completely occupied by the Dutch imperialists.

The Indonesian people continued the struggle for complete national independence and democratic reform. Thanks to the unyielding struggle of the Indonesian people, the reactionary governments of Hatta and of the Masjumi-PSI were overthrown. Subsequently, there came into existence bourgeois governments which owing to the pressure of the people's revolutionary movement were forced to pursue, to a certain extent, an anti-imperialist and rather democratic policy. The RTC Agreements were ultimately abrogated and the domination of Dutch imperialism was undermined.

But, since the state power was in the hands of the bourgeois and feudal classes, the Indonesian people remained under the imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation. The In-

Indonesian bourgeois government continued to give the imperialists the opportunity to plunder the wealth of Indonesia and to exploit the Indonesian people. Assisted by their lackeys in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia, the U.S. imperialists took over the position formerly occupied by the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia in the economic field.

The U.S. imperialists have, since a long time, tried to control Indonesia which is very important for the investment of their monopoly capital, because Indonesia is rich in natural resources and raw materials and has cheap labour power, and as a market for their commodities. Besides, militarily the U.S. imperialists badly need Indonesia for pursuing their aggressive policy against the peoples of Southeast Asia, and particularly to encircle and launch aggression against socialist China, the most reliable bastion of the world revolution.

To realize this sinister aim, the U.S. imperialists have unceasingly attempted

to destroy the Indonesian revolutionary movement, to destroy the Communist Party of Indonesia, and to overthrow Indonesian governments which refused to bow completely to their orders.

This sinister aim of the U.S. imperialists was accomplished after the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces headed by the Right-wing military clique of Suharto-Nasution, taking the "September 30th Affair" as a pretext, completely took over the state power. The Right-wing military clique of Suharto-Nasution, the running dog of U.S. imperialism, has established the most barbarous fascist dictatorship. This fascist dictatorship that represents the bureaucrat-capitalist, compradore and landlord classes is maintained by force of bayonet, and perpetrates the most atrocious large-scale and open terror against Communists and other patriotic fighters. The reign of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime is the darkest period for the Indonesian nation during the past 22

years. The Indonesian people suffer from unprecedented oppression and exploitation.

In the brief period since the coming into power of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, Indonesia has been transformed into a new-type colony of U.S. imperialism. Imperialist enterprises that were taken over by the people have been returned to their owners. Laws have been made to provide special guarantees for the imperialists to plunder and drain the riches of Indonesia in a big way, and to exploit the Indonesian people mercilessly. All the natural resources and other riches of Indonesia such as petroleum, metals and other minerals, forestry products, plantations, marine fisheries, agricultural farms and heavy and light industries all have been handed over to the foreign monopoly capitalists, in particular the U.S., to be exploited. To facilitate the large-scale plunder of Indonesia's riches, the foreign monopoly capitalists have been

given the broadest opportunity to open the branches of their banks in Indonesia.

The U.S. imperialists control Indonesia's economy and finance, not only through the investment of their capital in the different branches of industry, but also through the different forms of the so-called economic and financial assistance, both directly or through the so-called organization of international fund, international banks, and in particular the "International Monetary Fund".

The Japanese imperialists who take an exceedingly active and great part in the plunder of the riches of Indonesia, also serve as channels for U.S. imperialism in controlling Indonesia. The revenue of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, besides depending on the various kinds of domestic taxes, also depends on the credits extended by the imperialist powers and the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union.

The Indonesian fascist regime which is dependent economically and financially on U.S. imperialism, faithfully follows a foreign and military policy catering to the global strategy of U.S. imperialism which is aimed at maintaining and intensifying colonial oppression of the peoples of various countries. Anti-people, anti-Communism and anti-China are the main features of this policy. In the framework of its anti-China policy, the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime has unleashed large-scale racist suppression and persecution against the overseas Chinese in Indonesia.

So long as Indonesia lies under the grip of imperialism, it will remain a backward country. Imperialism does not want Indonesia to become an advanced and self-reliant country. Therefore, imperialism is forever interested in the preservation of feudal relations of production in the countryside. Feudalism is the social basis of colonial-imperialism in carrying out its

colonial oppression and exploitation in Indonesia.

The vestiges of feudalism in the countryside such as monopoly of lands by the landlords, land-rent in the form of labour or in kind, debts that reduce the peasants into slaves of the usurers and landlords, corvee, "pologoro" (feudal duties), etc. still prevail in the countryside. In all the villages of Indonesia still prevails the autocratic and anti-democratic feudal political power, one that represents the landlords and protects the system of feudal oppression and exploitation of the peasants.

Apart from using the feudal system and the feudal landlord class as the pillar, the new-type colonial oppression of the Indonesian people by U.S. imperialism is carried out with the support of the compradore- and bureaucrat-bourgeoisie. The compradore- and bureaucrat-bourgeoisie which today holds political power in Indonesia and serves as the lackey of U.S. imperialism,

consists mainly of the Right-wing military officers' clique which has, for years, by using military powers vested by the Law of State of War and Siege that has been enforced since 1958, usurped the power in the enterprises owned by the foreign monopoly capitalists that had been taken over by the people. Through military and bureaucratic powers, members of this clique have enriched themselves and built up an economic power. They have grown overnight into big capitalists, and together with the foreign monopoly capitalists control vital industrial and commercial enterprises. The bureaucrat-capitalist class represented by the fascist military clique of Suharto-Nasution which holds political power is at the same time the compradore of U.S. imperialism. It is the lackey serving the interests of U.S. imperialism.

So long as Indonesia has not yet been liberated from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Indone-

sian people will continue to live in poverty and backwardness, and to suffer from all kinds of inequalities. Though Indonesia is a fertile country, rich in natural resources and has an industrious people, the Indonesian people have nevertheless always suffered from the shortage of food, clothing and housing. The majority of the Indonesian people live in semi-starvation, and in many places of the countryside famine frequently takes place, causing the death of thousands and even tens of thousands of people.

Indonesia has continuously been in the grip of ever worsening economic and financial crises. Indonesian bourgeois governments came and went, and repeatedly took measures in what were alleged as improving the economy and preventing inflation. But not one Indonesian bourgeois government has succeeded in improving the economy and finance. All the measures taken have only resulted in new and greater

difficulties for the people. The economic condition worsens from day to day, inflation continues to run rampant, prices of goods and tariffs continue to sky-rocket, the value of the rupiah steadily drops and the purchasing power of the people decreases daily. Under the reign of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, a catastrophe greater than at any time in the past befalls the broad masses of the Indonesian people.

The real wages of the workers increasingly drop, and opportunity for jobs has narrowed due to the bankruptcy of domestic industries. Mass dismissals of the workers have been carried out in many enterprises and offices of the reactionary government. Consequently the ranks of the unemployed have swollen.

The lot of the peasants is worse than ever before. Ever greater numbers of peasants have lost their lands. The gains the peasants got from their

struggle which have relieved only a small fraction of their great sufferings, such as the implementation of the Law of Crop-Sharing and the bourgeois Land Reform Law, all have been taken back by the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. In addition to the feudal oppression and exploitation, the peasants suffered new burdens in the form of strangling tax increases, different kinds of compulsory contributions, and the coercion of religious worship. The increasingly difficult conditions of the peasants' life in the countryside have led to the migration of the rural population to the cities in greater number, in order to seek new means of living. But since in the cities jobs are getting scarce, as a result, the number of vagrants in the cities who have neither jobs nor dwellings has been steadily rising.

The petty bourgeoisie such as the artisans, small traders and the great number of the city poor also lead an

increasingly difficult life. The scale of their business has shrunk, they are subjected to arbitrary treatment by the reactionary rulers and weighed down by all kinds of unbearable taxes. More and more of them have gone bankrupt.

An increasingly difficult life is also suffered by the fishery labourers and poor fishermen. They are still suffering from feudal relations of production maintained by the "djuragan" (boat owners), and are exploited by the reactionary rulers. The same lot befalls the middle fishermen.

The national bourgeoisie is not only unable to develop its business but also unable to maintain its position in the face of the competition by the foreign monopoly capitalists who enjoy special protection from the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, as well as of the various regulations which strangle the development of national industry.

The reign of the fascist military clique has also caused great damage in the

field of education. The fascist terror which has resulted in the death of tens of thousands of teachers and revolutionary intellectuals has caused serious crises in the educational field. A shortage of teachers and school buildings has increased and, as a result, the number of children who are deprived of the opportunity to study has also increased. Children of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people are faced with still greater difficulties to study, because of the increasingly high tuition fees and of the high prices of school equipment.

U.S. imperialist culture in the form of films, literature, music, etc. which is used as a means to corrupt the spirit of and demoralize the people, especially the younger generation, is imported on a large scale by the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime to Indonesia.

Under the reign of the fascist regime, the revolutionary intellectuals, writers and artists are suffering from difficult material and spiritual life. They have

not the slightest freedom of creation and of developing their creative abilities.

Thus the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, the running dog of U.S. imperialism and the ally of the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, has transformed Indonesia, a beautiful and fertile country of thousands of islands which is rich in raw material resources, into a vast hell for the Indonesian people. At the cost of the sufferings of tens of millions of Indonesian people, a small handful of national betrayers and sellers of national interests such as the chieftains of the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, bureaucrat-capitalists, compradores, feudal landlords, corrupt generals and civilian high officials, enjoy a life of luxury together with the foreign monopoly capitalists.

Which road must be taken by the Indonesian people to liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation?

II

THE ROAD TO LIBERATION FOR THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE

The Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship is the political power of the bureaucrat-capitalist, compradore and landlord classes which is fully subservient to U.S. imperialism. Therefore, in order to realize the wish of the people to liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship must be completely destroyed. This is the primary task of the Indonesian revolution at present.

The Indonesian revolution at the present stage is a bourgeois democratic revolution which forms a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It is a people's democratic revolution. The objective of the revolution is to build an independent and democratic new Indonesia, an Indonesia based on

people's democracy as the transitional stage to socialist and communist society. The motive forces of the Indonesian revolution are the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeois class and other democratic elements, with the working class as the leader of the revolution and the peasantry its main force.

The Indonesian revolution will succeed in reaching its objective aim only when the working class and its vanguard party, the Communist Party of Indonesia, can fulfil their mission as leader of the revolution. The experience of the 1945 August Revolution provided the lesson: since the working class and its vanguard party, the PKI, failed in fulfilling their mission as the leader of the revolution, the leadership of the revolution fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the revolution met with failure.

In order to fulfil their mission to lead the revolution, the working class and the PKI must be good at leading the

armed struggle. The experience of the Indonesian people during the 1945 August Revolution as well as in the seventeen years after the August Revolution failed, in particular during the past two years, has taught us the lesson that in order to overthrow the rule of imperialism, landlords, bureaucrat-capitalists and compradores, the people must wage armed struggle. The most vicious and bloody white terror which has been on the rampage during the last two years has aroused the consciousness of the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people on the truth of the thesis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"**, and that **"the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution"**.

The Indonesian Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto-Nasution has, through the barrel of the gun, seized political power, and set up fascist dicta-

torship with its incomparable brutalities. To defeat the armed suppression carried out by the fascist dictatorship, the Indonesian people must arm themselves, build a people's armed force and wage a people's war. Only through people's war will the Indonesian people achieve their liberation.

The bloody experience in which hundreds of thousands of Communists and other patriotic fighters have been killed has provided the lesson which should never be forgotten that the revisionist road of "peaceful transition" or the parliamentary road which is peddled by the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, and which for fourteen years was followed by the former leadership of the Party, is a road leading to catastrophe for the Communists, the people and the revolution. The Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people must consistently rid their ranks of the poisonous weed of modern revisionism which has brought the Indonesian revolution to

serious failure, and with the most resolute determination march courageously onwards along the road of armed revolution.

The armed struggle of the Indonesian people is essentially the armed struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the working class. Due to the uneven economic and political development in Indonesia as a neo-colonial and semi-feudal country, and since the forces of counter-revolution are concentrated in the big cities, since the peasantry constitutes the main force of the revolution and since the forces of counter-revolution are comparatively weak in the countryside, the Indonesian revolution will achieve its complete victory in the whole country through the winning of victories locality by locality, through the liberation of the countryside from feudal oppression, through the establishment of revolutionary political power in the countryside, through the encirclement of the cities by the countryside and finally liberating the cities,

smashing the entire power of counter-revolution, and establishing nation-wide revolutionary political power. The liberation of the Indonesian people can never be achieved through military adventurism, i.e. putschism or military coup d'etat.

It is clear for every Communist and for every son and daughter of the Indonesian people who is aspiring for liberation that the main and urgent tasks of the revolution are to arouse, organize, arm and mobilize the masses of the people, to build the backward Indonesian villages into advanced revolutionary bases, into powerful bastions of the revolution, consolidated in the political, military, economic and cultural fields.

In order to lead the Indonesian revolution, the working class and the PKI apart from being good at waging armed struggle, must also be good at establishing a united front of all revolutionary classes and groups against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-

capitalism. Armed struggle and revolutionary united front are the two main weapons that must be wielded by the PKI. Without wielding these two main weapons, the PKI will never be able to fulfil its mission to lead the revolution. The armed struggle under the leadership of the PKI might be isolated and defeated if a united front of all revolutionary classes and groups is not established. On the other hand, the united front will lose its meaning if it is not for carrying out armed struggle.

The working class first of all must establish an alliance with the peasantry, because the peasantry is the main force of the revolution and the most reliable ally of the working class. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the basis of the revolutionary united front. The establishment of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class ensures the hegemony of the working class in the revolution, and ensures its victory. Nevertheless, the working class must still

establish a united front with the petty-bourgeois class other than the peasantry, and with other democratic elements. The petty-bourgeois class is a reliable ally of the working class.

Towards the national-bourgeois class, the working class must follow a policy of unity and struggle. So long as this class does not betray the revolution, the working class must forge a united front with it. At the same time, the working class must wage a firm struggle against the vacillating nature of the national bourgeoisie, against its tendency towards capitulation to the enemy, and against its attempts to undermine the ranks of the working class itself and the united front.

Such is the road of revolution that must be taken, and the conditions that must be fulfilled by the Indonesian people in order to liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

III THE MAIN POINTS OF THE PROGRAMME FOR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

In order to build an advanced, free and democratic new Indonesia, an Indonesia based on people's democracy as the transitional stage to socialism, the PKI puts forward the main points of its programme as follows:

Politics

(1) To destroy completely the entire state machine of the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship, the general representative of U.S. imperialism, feudal landlord class, bureaucrat-capitalists and compradore-bourgeoisie, and to establish a people's democratic dictatorship. The people's democratic dictatorship in Indonesia shall be the joint power of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie,

revolutionary intellectuals and other democratic groups, based on the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class. The people's democratic dictatorship in Indonesia shall be the instrument in the hands of the Indonesian people to protect their fundamental interests and to completely liquidate imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, so as to build a free and democratic Indonesian society and leading towards socialism.

(2) Every citizen, man or woman, irrespective of his or her nationality or descent, shall enjoy equal rights. The state shall give the broadest guarantee for the basic rights of the people, such as the right to organize, to hold meetings and demonstrations, to express opinions in writing or orally and to elect or be elected, and shall ensure freedom of religion. The State shall provide jobs and education for the people. Reactionary classes such as the landlords, the bureaucrat-capitalists,

the compradore-capitalists and other national betrayers, shall not enjoy the same democratic liberties as the people. The State shall exercise dictatorship over all these enemies of the revolution. Public offices and the State apparatuses should not be occupied by reactionary elements.

(3) Internal government shall be run on the principle that will ensure the consolidation of people's power and the implementation of democratic centralism. The government shall rely on the masses of the people, and the people shall have the right to control the running of the government.

(4) The relation between the central government and the regions shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism. Broad rights of autonomy shall be given to the nationalities. The regional governments should strengthen the central government and the central government should assist and guide the regional governments.

(5) The system of national defence shall be based on the principle of total popular defence. All people shall have the duty to defend the country and the people's power from the threat of aggression by the imperialists and other counter-revolutionary elements. In addition to the standing army, the State shall arm the people and organize people's militia. The people's army shall be the most important organ of the people's democratic dictatorship, born from the people and should wholeheartedly serve the people.

(6) The government shall follow a consistent anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist foreign policy, actively foster an international front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, consistently support the liberation struggles of the peoples the world over, strengthen the friendship with the socialist countries and the world revolutionary peoples, abrogate all the agreements concluded by the Indonesian reactionary govern-

ment with the imperialist countries which are detrimental to the interests of the Indonesian nation.

Economy

(7) To liquidate the domination of foreign monopoly capital, feudal landlords, bureaucrat-capitalists and compradores in the economic field, and build a people's democratic economy, namely economy in the transitional stage to socialism where there is no exploitation of man by man. All the sources of natural wealth shall be owned by the state. Foreign and indigenous monopoly enterprises, as well as enterprises which are too big to be managed privately such as the banks, the railways, telecommunication, the airways, sea communication etc. shall be owned and managed by the State. Enterprises belonging to the U.S. imperialists and other imperialists who are directly hostile to the revolution, together with all

their assets in Indonesia, as well as enterprises and assets owned by the bureaucrat-capitalists, compradores and other national betrayers shall be confiscated without any compensation and transformed into state-owned enterprises.

(8) The State shall protect and assist the development of private national industry, within the limit that it will neither control the life of the people nor develop into a monopoly.

(9) Feudal agrarian and agricultural relations shall be abolished. All lands owned by foreign and indigenous landlords shall be confiscated without any compensation, and distributed to the farm labourers and poor peasants free of charge, individually and to be their individual property. Plantations with modern technique and forests shall be owned by the State. Lands and other properties owned by rich peasants shall not be confiscated. Lands and other properties of the middle peasants shall be protected from in-

fringement. Corvee, "pologoro" (feudal duties) and other feudal burdens shall be abolished. Village administrations shall be run democratically. All debts the peasants owe to usurers and landlords shall be cancelled. The State shall provide low-interest and long-term credits for the peasants to build and develop agricultural cooperatives, and make efforts for the modernization and mechanization of agriculture. The State shall organize transmigration, and ensure the provision of lands to be the individual property of each transmigrant as well as of other necessary aid.

(10) By using all the domestic funds and resources, and on the basis of the principle of self-reliance, to create the condition for the industrialization of the country as the basis of socialist society. To fix an appropriate minimum wage for the workers and civil servants. To adopt the labour system which protects the health of the workers working in the mines underground and in other

health-affecting industries. To adopt the system of social securities at the cost of the State and the capitalists that will provide for illness, invalidism, unemployment and old age. To prohibit child labour. To abolish semi-feudal exploitation in labour relations such as apprenticeship, contractorship etc. To exercise strict control over the prices of commodities.

Culture

(11) The culture of people's democracy shall be an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist new culture. Literature, art and science should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers of the People's Liberation Army.

(12) The system of education and teaching shall be based on the ideological revolutionization and foster the spirit of love for the people, the country and labour. To integrate theoretical

education with physical labour in the practice of production. To adopt the system of compulsory education for children, male and female, up to thirteen years of age, free of charge.

(13) All the nationalities are entitled to use their own language in schools, courts and elsewhere, besides using the Indonesian language as the language of unity and the official language.

(14) The State shall ensure public health, and wipe out public diseases and epidemics.

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Such are the main points of the programme that will be implemented by the people's democratic dictatorship, as a result of the nation-wide victory in the revolution to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship.

In places where the revolution is already victorious and revolutionary political power established, the main points of the programme should be im-

plemented in accordance with local concrete conditions and the level of consciousness of the people concerned.

The PKI is of the view that the only road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people is that of armed revolution as stated in this programme. This is not an easy road, but a long one which is full of twists and turns, hardships and difficulties. But this is the only road leading to liberation. There is no other road, nor can there be.

The Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship is the rule of the most reactionary and rotten classes in the country which are heading for total collapse. U.S. imperialism, the master of the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, and the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union, the loyal accomplice of U.S. imperialism, are also rotten forces and heading for total collapse. All the reactionary and dark forces are merely paper tigers. On the contrary, the working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary intellectuals, the urban petty

bourgeoisie and other revolutionary forces, are powerful forces with a bright future ahead.

The Indonesian revolution has very broad allies throughout the world. The international proletariat and all revolutionary peoples who are fighting against oppression stand on the side of the Indonesian people. The Chinese proletariat and the great Chinese people who are armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tsetung and who have built the most reliable bastion of the world revolution, staunchly stand on the side of the Indonesian people, and consistently support the Indonesian revolution.

The Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorship and U.S. imperialism will certainly be defeated once and for all and the Indonesian people will certainly be victorious, because the road of the Indonesian revolution is illuminated by the guiding star of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Communist Party of Indonesia calls on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, fishermen, small businessmen, patriotic national businessmen and all Indonesians of goodwill, men and women of all nationalities, to unite closely and wage armed revolution to overthrow the fascist military dictatorship, and thus pave the way towards a free and democratic new life, leading to socialism. This free and independent new life which is progressive, happy, prosperous and secure should be wrested through revolution, by force of arms.

People of Indonesia unite, and with the gun in hand march courageously onward to overthrow and destroy the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship.